

The Revolt of 1857 in Bundelkhand in Light

of the Report of

Major F.W. Pinkaney



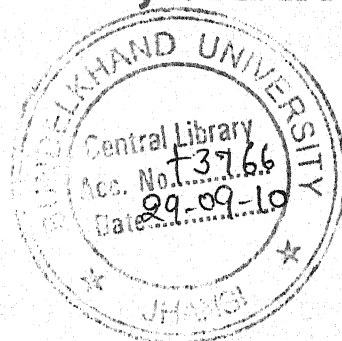
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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled " **THE REVOLT OF 1857 IN BUNDELKHAND IN LIGHT OF THE REPORT OF MAJOR F.W. PINKANEY** " submitted by **Ms. KALPANA TYAGI** for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History, is the original work of candidate herself.

She has worked under my guidance and supervision for more than 200 days. I am fully satisfied with her work.



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CONTENT

Chapter	Topic	Page No.
1.	Introduction	1-12
2.	Geographical Situation of Bundelkhand	13-45
3.	Socio- Economic Background of the Revolt of 1857	46-63
4.	Annoyance of the people of Bundelkhand	64-84
5.	Pinkaney's Eyes on the Movement of Laxmi Bai and Happenings in Jhansi	85-102
6.	Pinkaney's Narrative of Jalaun	103-134
7.	Pinkaney's Reporting of the District of Hamirpur	135-151
8.	Conclusion	152-166
9.	Appendix	
10.	Bibliography	

Preface

The present study on the Great Revolt of 1857 is specially based on the secret letters of Major F.W. Pinkaney who was posted in Jhansi during the time of the above revolt. Pinkaney has apprised the secretary North West Provinces of the current happening which were taking place at the time of the revolt. These letters are infact secret despatches whose sole intention was to inform the Government about the development. Therefore, no one can doubt on the accuracy and correctness of the informations supplied by Pinkaney. Of course some work has been done on the nature & circumstances of the revolt of 1857 but those works have not given sufficient space to the Pinkaney's narratives. Pinkaney died on 31st July 1862 and thus he had seen personally the day to day happenings . He has vividly narrated the role of Rani of Jhansi, native's participation in their bid for liberation.

No doubt S.N. Sinha's account 'The Revolt of 1857 in Bundelkhand' Joyce Lebra's 'The Rani of Jhansi', M.S. Rennick's 'A New Light upon the History of Rani Laxmi Bai of Jhansi' had traced the causes and course of the events in a vivid manner but none of them have referred the secret narratives of Maj Pinkaney in details. To me it appears that no account of the revolt is complete without going through the valuable secret correspondence of Pinkaney. Of course some of these letters can be seen in Archives as well as in National Library, Calcutta but the numbers of these letters are small. I have collected the total 450 letters which starts from letter 19 to 679. These letters throw everyday information of the situation prevailing those days: Thus the main source of our thesis entitled " **The Revolt of 1857 in Bundelkhand in Light of the Report of Major F.W. Pinkaney** " is the secret correspondence of Major F.W. Pinkaney as well as the memories of suppression and happenings which are preserved in traditions of Bundeli and Marathi have helped me to compare the information of Pinkaney. Thus the plan of the present thesis is entirely based on the above secret documents which I hope could supplement the existing knowledge of the regional history of Bundelkhand.

I am highly indebted to my teacher Dr. S.P. Pathak, Reader & Head of the Department, History, Bundelkhand Degree College, Jhansi for suggesting me the above topic. No doubt he has spared his valuable time for preparing the thesis without his co-operation the work could not have been completed.

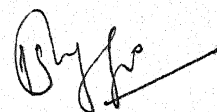
I am equally thankful to my supervisor & Guide Dr. Ajeet Singh, M.A. Ph.D, Lecturer, Deptt. of History, Bundelkhand Degree College, Jhansi for his praise worthy guidance & suggestions.

I have also received suggestion and help from my family members & especially my father who helped me in collecting various rare photographs & documents pertaining to my study.

I am also highly indebted to Kr. Manvendra Singh Parmar, descendant of the rebellious Chief Burjor Singh of Belawa (Ameeta) district Jalaun. I contacted Mr. Singh through Mr. Ram Kumar Shukla, a friend of my father who took initiative in providing me the photographs & the family document of Burjor Singh.

It is my pious duty to thank the Director and the staff especially posted in Research room of National Archives, New Delhi as well as the staff of National Library, Calcutta for providing me study material. Moreover, I am also thankful to the Archeological Department along with the Regional Tourist Officer of Jhansi for helping me in preparing the above thesis.

At last I thank each and every one who helped directly or indirectly in my study.



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CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTORY

A Critical Analysis of Source Material

CHAPTER – 1

Introductory

A Critical Analysis of Source Material

The most important difficulty in attempting the history of great revolt in Bundelkhand is the paucity of historical source material. It is well known that there was general destruction of records¹ and historical documents during the revolt of 1857 which resulted in the non-availability of the most authentic documents of the period. This destruction was confined not only to the official records but the literary works of the age also met the same fate. The famous library of famous Sanskrit manuscripts which had been built up by Raja Ganga Dhar Rao and the other earlier rulers was totally destroyed during the sack of Jhansi in 1857².

Dr. Mahor called it as "Martyred Literature"³. Perhaps those literary works had contained the records of the events pertaining to the National liberation in the form of heroic sagas of the Rani of Jhansi; therefore, the British destroyed it. We do not know exactly the factors responsible for such destruction but it is beyond doubt that the loss of records has created a great difficulty in understanding the situations. The settlement officers also realized this difficulty when they tried to prepare the revenue records afresh after the establishment of peace and order in 1858.⁴

Another difficulty regarding the day to day happening of the revolt of 1857 in this region is preserved in the traditional account which ended with the martyrdom of Rani Laxmi Bai and whatever survives is the history in the traditional style. D.V. Parasani's account⁵ of Rani Laxmi Bai, Vishnu Bhatt Godsey's *Majha Pravas*⁶ are the works of such nature. These works of course narrate the heroic deeds of Rani of Jhansi, but the real policies of the

British forces from one place to another and their inner strategies is not mentioned in the above books. This attitude of the British and their military strategies are mentioned in Pinkaney's narratives which are secret correspondents addressed to the British superior officers. The present work is almost depended on these secret informations of Major F.W. Pinkaney's report. Thus the Pinkaney's report is of high value. These reports are, in form of letters, written to the secretary of N.W. Provinces as a matter of routine to familiarise the latter with the current situations and events that were taking place during the period of great revolt of 1857 and subsequently to it. These reports throw sufficient light over the general conditions of inhabitants. Besides, they also throw light the policies of Zamindars and native rulers of Bundelkhand who extended the support to the British during those critical days.

(a) Analysis of the Settlement Report

One of the sources of the history of the revolt of 1857 in Bundelkhand are the various settlement reports. Infact with the establishment of law and order in 1858 the British Revenue Officers posted in the Districts in Bundelkhand started the revenue settlements of the district under their charge. No doubt these revenue settlements basically calculated the revenue rates classified the soils and compared the prevailing rates with that of the old revenue rates. Thus basically these settlement reports are a short of revenue history. But while going through its introductory and historical account it appears that the settlement officers has mentioned the events of mutiny from place to place. These settlement officers have also shown their latitude towards the Zamindars and the big land owners who had extended support to the British. These reports have been compiled by the British Officers for the purposes of revenue assessment from time to time. First of

these reports is Jenkinson's report on the settlement of Jhansi printed at the Government press Allahabad, in 1871. It gives vivid account of revenue administration of Jhansi district. The other settlement report of the district of Jhansi (1864, 1892 & 1903) and Lalitpur (1869, 1898 & 1903) also deal with these aspects. These reports have also indicated from time to time the British policies which they had adopted in suppressing the revolt in Bundelkhand.

The district of Jalaun was also settled by the British revenue officers similarly as the District of Hamirpur and Banda were also settled separately. The basic concept as discussed earlier this settlement report was the assessment of the revenue rates. But if examined critically these reports indicate here and there about the British policies of rewarding those Rajas, Maharajas, Chiefs and Petty Zamindars who had helped the British force in suppressing the Revolt of 1857. One thing is clear that the settlement officers had always blamed the inhabitants of Bundelkhand for their being unenterprising and thriftless but they did not put blame on British for their responsibility of keeping the region backward so the people of Bundelkhand could have been penalized for their past conduct of revolting against the British. Thus while analyzing the settlement report we have to be very cautious to derive the results.

(b) Analysis of the other existing works on the Revolt of 1857 in Bundelkhand

The Revolt of 1857 has been attracting the attention of scholars as a subject of historical study and research. Prior to independence of India many standard works discussed the above revolt but the study of the great revolt in its proper and wider perspective could only be done when

many more record where thrown open. On the first centenary celebrations of the revolt of 1857 many works were brought out relating to its wider perspective. But it is more surprising that no separate study could be made about the happenings in Bundelkhand which was so rich in the activities. No doubt some scholars gave passing references of Bundelkhand in their works which dealt with the entire country. However, Dr. S.N.Sinha⁷ has attempted well and published his book in December 1982. Dr. Sinha had analyzed the cause of unrest very carefully pointed out the role played by Rani of Jhansi, Nawab of Banda along with the activities of the revolutionaries of Bundelkhand. The most important aspect of Sinha's work is the fact that he vividly described the circumstances which prevailed in those days, but it will be proper mentioned here that Dr. Sinha did not properly base study on the narrative of Major F.W. Pinkaney, who was the Superintendent of Jhansi, Superintendency and died in 1862.⁸

Major Pinkaney has been in deep touch with the day to day happening of the great revolt which took place in Bundelkhand. The secret correspondence which is in a form of letters and appended in this thesis throws sufficient light on the nature and activities of the revolutionaries who were facing the unslaughter of the British with great courage and dedication. In judging their role it appears beyond doubt that the people of Bundelkhand had been determined to over throw of British Raj. Major Pinkaney's letters on which one can rely as further evidence also throw light on the activities of Rani Jhansi, Laxmi Bai's role and the attitude of his Generals along with the activity participation of the people of Bundelkhand.

I have been able to get the correspondence of Major Pinkaney from a local person in Jhansi. These letters are from letter No. from 19 to 679

and tried to produce the day to day happenings in Bundelkhand on the basis of above reports.

(c) A Critical Survey of District Gazetteers

The District Gazetteers occupy secondary place in the series of the sources of the history of this region. The first Gazetteer of Bundelkhand known as Statistical Descriptive and historical account of the N.W. Provinces of India was edited by Edwin T. Atkinson, under the orders of the Government of India. Its first volume dealt with Bundelkhand and was printed at Government Press, Allahabad in 1874.

In fact, the preparation of the Gazetteer of the Provinces of India received the attention of East India Company as early as 1803; in order to enable the Company's historiographer to complete a general history of British affairs in the East Indies.⁹ The N.W.P. Gazetteer was a step in that direction. It is merely a compilation of official statistics received from the district authorities, of course, in very methodical and skilful manner, yet, it is not free from shortcomings. Burges points out that "To the best of our beliefs, Mr. Atkinson has never been stationed in any part of Bundelkhand and if he has visited any, even of its most historic sites, it can only have been as a hurried traveller. It may also be regretted that while the whole of Bundelkhand is populated almost exclusively by Hindus, their historian is evidently a completely stranger to Hindu legends and literature at first hand, and is in the habit of consulting only either Mohammadan or pseudo- Mohammadan authorities, who are for the most part both prejudiced and ignorant."¹⁰ However, this book can not be called 'A County History' as the latter is generally the result of life long labour. The editor of the above Gazetteer had only undergone

the process of translation. Being unfamiliar with the constitutions and traditions of Bundelkhand, he only depended on the information supplied by the Patwaries and Munshis.¹¹

Atkinson never had much opportunity for mixing with the ruler population or acquiring knowledge of popular speech. It is also evident from the Indian Antiquary. "Atkinson wrote that in 1872 the number of Baniyas in the Lalitpur district were, Jainis 6556, Sarugis 322, and Maheshwaris 26-a form of expression which would be exactly paralleled by a statement that in some parts of India the followers of the Prophet numbered 500 of whom 200 were Mohammanadan were the terms of identical import."¹² This is a sufficient proof of the lack of knowledge which frequently reflects from Atkinson's Gazetteers.

In spite of all these shortcomings, this account throws ample light on the socio-economic life of Bundelkhand. It supplies important informations upto 1872 as the account ends with 1874. This gazetteer is also valuable because Atkinson has referred to the official report of Major Pinkaney on certain occasions, who was the eye witness of many of the events.¹³ In all circumstances, it needs a critical enquiry into the facts supplied on various topics.

Different British officers have compiled the Gazetteer of the district of Bundelkhand after Atkinson's Gazetteer. It was modified after certain period so that the new information regarding the District could have been incorporated. After Atkinson's Gazetteers the District Gazetteer of Jhansi was compiled by D.L. Drake-Brockman in 1909. The same officer had also compiled the Gazetteer of district Banda, Jalaun and Hamirpur. After a period of 10 years Drake Brockman again modified

his Gazetteers in 1919. It is mostly like a county history the purpose of which was to familiarize with the nature of the District and its people to the British officers posted in this District as District Magistrate. The tradition of writing Gazetteers continued even after the attainment of freedom in 1947. The latest in this series with the Gazetteers of Jhansi 1965.¹³ However, the gazetteers compiled during the British rule obviously tried to defend the British. This one sided approach had also been due to the fact that those Gazetteers were based on various settlement reports which were also one sided.

If we compared the gazetteer of Jhansi 1909¹⁴ with that of the Gazetteer 1965, it appears that the latter has clearly criticized the British policies for the backwardness and general deteriorating conditions of the District. On one such occasion the District gazetteer of 1965 boldly declares. "The British made it a policy to discourage local manufactures by the imposition of prohibitive duties causing indigenous and more people to take agricultural pursuits."¹⁵

Such critical and impartial views had not been expressed by the British officers who compiled the Gazetteers during the British rule. However, these gazetteers are only the secondary source of information because they did not supply the primary information regarding the outbreak of great revolt and the events subsequent to it. Infact most of these gazetteers had relied on the informations supplied by Atkinsons in Bundelkhand Gazetteers. However, while describing the history and traditions of the District its editor had referred the happening of 1857 from here and there. But that reference cannot be termed as impartial. The editors of the British Gazetteers have tried to seal the British measures and policies. They never revealed the atrocities of the British soldiers on the innocent natives. Thus while analyzing the information

left by the District Gazetteers we have to be very cautious and careful and its information can only be accepted after due verification from the primary sources. In other words Major F.W.Pinkaney's account which given more weightage than the information supplied by district Gazetteers.

(d) Nature and Analysis of the other Historical works, Memoirs and Traditions

Apart from the Settlement Reports and the District Gazetteers, some other works relating to the history of the region are worthy of note as they also enlighten the contemporary conditions of the Districts Bundelkhand. Although they deal with the general history, yet studied thoroughly, may be of some use in ascertaining the events which were taking place in this region in 1857. Gore Lal Tiwari's book ¹⁶ 'Bundelkhand Ka Sanshipt Itihas' is a general description of Bundelkhand but it provides valuable informations about the origin of the Bundelas and their past traditions. Another book of similar nature if the Bundelkhand Ka Sankshipt Itihas has written by Diwan Pratipal Singh, printed in Samvat 1985 by the Kitchintak Press, Ramghat , Varanasi. This work was under taken with a view to produce the history of the Bundelkhand as there was no authentic work available except the Tawarikhe- Bundelkhand of Munshi Shyam Singh and Tawarikhe-Jalaun.¹⁷

The work of Diwan Pratipal Singh is based on the official documents of the British regime and especially on the District Gazetteer of 1909.¹⁸ On many occasions, the author appears to have borrowed the material from the above Gazetteers. This is more true in regard to his

descriptions about the criminal tribes of the district of Jhansi and Lalitpur.¹⁹ However, its author is not to be blamed at all as he has accepted himself that the basis of his work had been the various Gazetteers²⁰. Besides, this book supplies sufficient information on the socio-economic history, literary activity and the cultural aspects of the region. The work mentioned above only refers to the general history of Bundelkhand. None of the above have attempted on the great apprising of 1857 and its surrounding events. Therefore, the above works give only the general history of the track.

As far as the beginning of the great revolt in Bundelkhand and its day to day happenings no such work has been attempted which could have analysed the report of Major F.W. Pinkaney who had given day to day secret information to his superior officers. Of course some scholars have attempted on upon the life and times of Rani of Jhansi, especially to mention the brilliant account Dr. S.N. Sen, R.C. Majumdar, Dr.D.V. Tahamanker and S.N. Sinha. But these scholars too described heroic deeds of Rani of Jhansi. Their account did not analyse and taken into consideration the day to day reporting of Major F.W. Pinkaney.

Joyce Lebra Chapman has very carefully analysed the role of Rani of Jhansi and more especially Rani's father Moropant's part in those critical days. In those critical days it was Moropant who guided Rani of Jhansi and the latter was in his complete confidence. Joyce Lebra found Moropant Tambe as a brilliant strategist and Lebra explored the circumstances in which Rani of Jhansi raised voice against the British. But the author laid great emphasis on the character and role of Rani of Jhansi and did not analyse the day to day information of Major Pinkaney which gives the clear picture of British Military operation in

Bundelkhand. Dr. M.S. Rennick²¹ also attempted on the role of Rani of Jhansi. He also centralized his study mainly of diplomacy of Moropant Tambe whose passion was the welfare of his daughter. Dr. Renick thinks that Moropant diplomacy was around the sole purpose towards the restoration of Jhansi to the ruling house, and the recognition of the adopted son as heir to the Jhansi throne. Dr. Renick analysed this aspect carefully and also pointed out the causes of the failure of Moropant's brilliant plan. But he too did not analyse the day-to-day narrative of Major F.W. Pinkaney in detail along with the active participation of people of Bundelkhand.

Thus, after analyzing the above works I decided to bring into lime light the circumstances and the events of the great revolt in Bundelkhand on the basis of Major F.W. Pinkaney's letters which are from letter No.19 to 679 in my appended in this work.

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Chapter - II

Geographical Situation of Bundelkhand

CHAPTER – 2

Geographical Situation of Bundelkhand

Bundelkhand region lies in the heart of India. It has its own geographical area, culture, tradition and language. Bundelkhand may be defined as the tract lying between the river Jamuna on the North; the Chambal on the North West; Jabalpur and Sagar divisions of the Central Provinces on the South, Rewa or Bhagelkhand, and the Mirzapur hills on the South East. It is watered by the rivers Jamuna, Chambal, Betwa, Dhasan and Ken.¹ Bundelkhand comprises districts of Banda, Chitrakut (bifurcated from Banda) Hamirpur, Mahoba (bifurcated from Hamirpur) Jalaun, Jhansi and Lalitpur in Uttar Pradesh and Datia, Tikamgarh, Panna, Chattarpur, Sagar, Damoh and Lahar tehsil of Bhind in Madhya Pradesh. These districts have a distinct language of their own. Geographically they are a compact unit.²

Bundelkhand is situated principally between 24th and 26th degrees of North latitude. On the North it has the river Jamuna; on the South parts of Berar and Malwa; on the East Baghelkhand; on the West Shivpuri, Morena districts (Scindia's territories). It extends from 77°48' to 81° 33' E, and 24°3' to 26° 26' N, and contains altogether 23,817 miles. In 1828 the region had the population around 2,400,000 persons.³ Today the population of this region is around 15 million people.⁴

The mountains of this tract extend in continuous ranges. These ranges Vindhyachal, Pannaghats and Bhandar, It is the most elevated portion of the province. The highest summit of this tableland does not exceed 2,000 feet above the sea level. The valleys and low lands when

properly watered bring production of grains in abundance. By and large, the climate of this region is dry and extremely hot in summer and extremely cold in winter. The rains are moderate. The average rainfall is around 45 inches.⁵ the inclement climate makes the life of the poor miserable.

In Bundelkhand, there are numerous hills, which rise abruptly from the common level. They are pyramidal in form and granitic in substance. They stretch out from the South and West of Banda district. The rocky crests of the hills in the Bundelkhand region are bare and exposed, but their sides are clad with bush and thick forest cluster round their bases. These hills, from their steep and nearly inaccessible scarps, form sites of strongholds. From the hills numerous streams flow towards the Jamuna, the principal among these are Sindh, Pahuj, Betwa, Dhasan, Ken, Barma and Paisuni. The Jamuna which first touches this tract at its northern extremity and forms its North Eastern boundary is navigable at all seasons. Other rivers descend from the elevated tableland do not have much water. The lakes of Barwasagar, Arjar and Kanchneh in Jhansi district and those of Madan Sagar, Kirat Sagar and many others in Hamirpur district are some of the important lakes in Bundelkhand.⁶

The distinguishing feature of Bundelkhand is the absence of irrigation, which is generally rendered impracticable by the enormous depth of the water, not less than 100 and 125 feet below the surface, and by the peculiarities of the soil, which is so penetrated with holes, cracks and fissures; that even when water is procurable, it hastily disappears without producing any of the effects of irrigation.⁷ The soil of Bundelkhand is divided into four classes viz. Mar, Kabar, Parua and Rakar. Mar is well known black cotton soil, rich, dark, containing a large number of minute kankar nodules and high proportion of organic matter, retentive of

moisture, but liable to water logging and much susceptible to Kans. Kabar is a stiff impracticable soil, drying and caking quickly on the surface. It is also susceptible to Kans. Both these soils can produce excellent crops without irrigation and without more rains. Parua is a light sand soil, fertile when manure, worked and irrigated. Rakar is a soil affected by erosion with large Kankar nodules. These soils vary in quality. In Banda, heavy soils cover a third of the cultivated area; in Hamirpur nearly half; in Jalaun three fifth; in Jhansi more than half and in Lalitpur about a third. In the heavy soil, especially in Mar, the overgrowth of Kans is symptom of distress. It starts with heavy and prolonged rain which makes it difficult to remove it and prepare the saturated land.⁸

Bundelkhand cotton formed the staple commodity of Kalpi market. The root of the Al plant is the most profitable source of income. It is highly priced for its beautiful and permanent dye. The hills produce abundance of iron and the forests which cover these hills and valleys, are famous for ebony.⁹ Nature has endowed it with great beauty. There are dense forests in West, South and South Eastern parts of Bundelkhand. Due to lack of sufficient rainfall the Northern parts are covered by scrub. Bamboos of good quality are exported from Ajaigarh and Kalinjar. Tendu and Mahua are good trees in the Banda and Jhansi districts. There are small teak forests also in Jhansi districts. The fauna of the forests includes tiger, bear, panther, leopard, wolf, hyena, antelope, deer, fox, jackal and monkey etc.¹⁰ Bundelkhand has got extensive mineral resources. The diamond mines of Panna are famous in India. Iron ore of good quality is found in Banda and Jhansi districts. Granite stones and rubies are available in Lalitpur district. Copper, limestone, manganese, bauxite, fine sand for making glass and stone for building purposes are found in this region.¹¹

The analysis of the geographical factors of Bundelkhand shows that it has never been very prosperous and wealthy. Its poor nature of soil and the rocky beds of the rivers along with the hilly region did not contribute substantially in the socio-economic uplift of the people. The hilly nature and rocky appearance of Bundelkhand paved the way for creating hardship and tough life to the inhabitants. Thus in nature makes the people rough and tough. Moreover, the geographical situation also helped the people in becoming freedom minded. This spirit of freedom continued through out the trait of the region of Bundelkhand.

Historical Background of Bundelkhand

The history of Bundelkhand has been one of vicissitudes since dawn of civilizations, its people, hardy and tenaciously exclusive to the hilly nature and climatic conditions of the region, and therefore, pervaded with the spirit of freedom, have frequently behaved a champions and protagonist of the purity of Indian culture and civilization by adhering to it stead fastly in their own region. The achievements of Bharsiva or Nag and Vakatak rulers after the break up of the Mauryan Empire are a clear evidence of this fact. It was mainly due to their efforts that the Saka expansion was successfully checked and Indian culture was purged of the painful exotic influences that had in perceptively crept into it. Besides, the Vakatak power served both as the spear head and contributory factor for the efflorescence of Indian culture under the Guptas.

Never did the people of Bundelkhand submit permanently to any foreign yoke and never did their tenacious spirit of freedom die out, even when, by force of uncontrollable circumstances, they had to remain tied down to outside authority during the ancient and medieval periods. But

their spirit of freedom never died out completely. Though dormant, it ever remained alive and often asserted itself. His noble trait in the character of the people has persisted through out the whole range of history.

A striking example of this trait is afforded by Chatrasal at the commencement of the 18th century. His bid for independence from the Mughal authority was the contamination and culmination of the struggle launched by Bir Singh Dev, and Jujhar Singh and they kept up by Champat Rai, Chatrasal's father¹², during the reign of Shahjahan. The brilliant Bundela chief who had ridden to power on the wave of popular antagonism provoked by Aurengzeb's from theocratic rule, was able to secure from Aurengzeb's son and successor of Bahadur Shah forced confirmation of his territorial possessions which he had been able to bring under his sway after and intermittent struggle for at least well nigh 40 years. Chatrasal had a meeting with Shivaji who appointed him the duty to follow the path of Kshatriya Dharama by ending Muslim domination and cherishing the Brahmin and the cow, and protecting the Vedas. Obviously, the Bundela leader acted on this advice through out his life and championed the cause of Hindus and Hinduism in Bundelkhand, a task for which he was eminently fitted by training and temperament both¹³. Now Chatrasal appeared as a Champion of the Hindu cause in Bundelkhand.

This was naturally unpalatable to the Mughal emperor Farrukhsiyar (1713-19), a man altogether different from his predecessor Bahadur Shah. Therefore, he commissioned 'the bravest and most spirited of the Mughal nobles', Mohammad Khan Bangash, better known as Nawab of Bangas of Farookhabad to deal of deadly blow to the power and influence of the upstart Bundela Chief and reduce him to submission. The parganas of Erich

and Bhandar were assigned to him and a powerful force was placed under his command.¹⁴

(a) Chattrasal Bangas Conflict: First Appearance of Marathas

Thus having been fully equipped militarily the Nawab entered Bundelkhand; and there ensued a prolonged and bitter struggle between the Mughal forces and the Bundela Chief. A number of local rulers too joined hands with the Mughals. But Chattrasal without yielding to despair at all continued fighting with reckless valour to maintain his hold over his dominions. Ultimately, the superiority of numbers and betrayals by many a Bundela Chief began to tell heavily on his limited resources and he found himself reduce to sore straits.¹⁵ "After a sanguinary action in June, 1728, he took himself to the fort of Jaitpur, which Nawab Banjas at once invested". The siege was a prolonged one of there as seemed no way of escape for the old Bundelas warrior who was now aged and worn – out. It was at critical juncture that in Feb., 1729, while pretending submission to the Mughals he sent urgent and piteous appeals to the Peshwa Baji Rao I for immediately succour.¹⁶

The Peshwa at this time lay encamped at Garha near Sagar with a strong force of 25 thousand mobile cavalry commanded by Pilaji Jadhav, Naro Shanker, Tukoji Pawar and Dawalji Somvanshi. Baji Rao with whom 'Hindu Dharma was an important factor'¹⁷ hastened to Chattrasal's rescue and reached Mahoba on March 12th, 1729. There was met by Chattrasal

who in the meanwhile, had contrived to escape from Jaitpur. He brought present and marks of honour for the Peshwa. The Hindu allies now jointly took a cudgel against Mughal Leaders and inflicted severe reverses on the Nawab and his son Qaim Khair severally. The Nawab was thus "humbled and allowed to return safe to his headquarters upon his giving a written undertaking that he would never again return to Bundelkhand and embarrass Chatrasal in any way" ¹⁸ Thus Bundelkhand was consequently made immune from any future Mughal Menace.

(b) Honour of Peshwa Baji Rao-I and Division of Chatrasal's Possessions

The old Chatrasal could now breathe in peace, nearing as he was the glorious end of his brilliant career. He lavished all honours and riches upon his great benefactor, the great Maratha Chief, as a mark of gratitude for extracting him out of a very dangerous situation; and shortly before his death, which took place on December 14, 1731, he held a durbar in the Peshwa's honour, brought his two young sons Hirdes and Jagat Raj and entrusted them to his care, and through a will, passed on to him one-third of his territory, extracting at the same time from him the promise that the Peshwa would look after the two sons and would maintain them and their successors in their possessions of the remaining two-thirds of the dominion. In return the two sons were to assist the Marathas in their military operations in the north.

Chatrasal's dominions extended upto the Chambal River and included Kalpi, Jalaun, Konch and Erich. Jhansi was formerly in the dominion of the Orchha ruler but by the treaty concluded between Bahadur

Shah and Chatrasal it was ceded to Chattrasal. In the South his dominions included Sironj, Guna, Garhkota, Saugar, Bansi, Dhamoni, Damoh and Maihar. In the East the frontier of his dominions extended upto the river Tons and in the north the Jamuna river was the frontier. His former capital was Mahoba, and later on, Panna became the capital. He also founded the city of Chattarpur.¹⁹

“By 1671 he was virtually ruler of all Bundelkhand, his dominions extending from Banda in the north to Jubbulpore in the South, and from Rewah in the East to the Betwa River in the West. Orchha and Datia, however, were held by other chiefs of the same clan.”²⁰

The portion thus bequeathed to the Peshwa comprised Kalpi, Hatta, Saugar, Jhansi, Sironj, Kuch, Garhakota and Hirdenagar. It also included the large pargana of Mahoba. It will thus be seen that the Peshwa's share of territory lay west of the Dhasan River and South of the Vindyan scarp beyond the subdivision of Lalitpur, exclusive of Datia and Orchha states and the areas which belonged to some other Bundela Chiefs. The revenue of this whole territory amounted to Rupees 32, 00,000.²¹

In 1732 Chimnaji Appa went to Bundelkhand and took charge of the assigned districts and appointed Govindpant Kher, known there after as Bundela, to manage the acquisition. They are enumerated as Kalpi, Hata, Saugor, Jhansi, Sironj, Kunch, Garhakota and Hirdenagar. Later on, some of the districts were transferred by Baji Rao to Mastani's son.

Shamsher Bahadur who made Banda his Chief town of residence and thus giving his descendents the title of the Nawab of Banda.²²

As regards the territories inherited by each of Chatrasal's two sons, they lay mostly in the east of Dhasan River and were divided into two separate states. The one namely the Panna Raj including the fort of Kalinjer, the South of Badausa and most of the present Karvi sub division fell to the lot of Hirdesa or more correctly Hindaya Shah and the other, namely, Jaitpur raj including Bhuragarh and Ranghar, was given to Jagatraj.²² Hirdesa got Panna Mao, Garahkota, Kalinjer, Shahgahar and territories surrounding them. The annual income this portion was forty two lacs of rupees. Jagat Raj inherited Jaitpur, Ajaygarh, Charkhari, Bijawar, sarilla, Bhuraghar and Banda. Its annual income was rupees 36 lacs.²³

The Peshwa's portion included Kalpi, Hatta, Hiryanagar, Jalaun, Gursarai, Jhansi, Sironj, Guna, Garahkota and Sagar. Its annual income was estimated at rupees 33 lacs.²⁴

(c) The Tragedy of Panipat and its Impact on the Affairs of Bundelkhand

Meanwhile, the great Maratha tragedy having been enacted at Panipat in 1761, the Maratha power and prestige received a rude shock everywhere. In Bundelkhand, too, the grip of the Marathas got naturally loosened. The heroic death of Govind Pant Kher, the soul of the Maratha influence and power in Bundelkhand, at Panipat, served as a clarion call for the revival of the ever - present centrifugal tendencies. Disorder and disruption crept in. Many a Bundela chief went into rebellion against Maratha suzerainty. This excited the cupidity of Shujauddaula, the Nawab Vizier of Oudh. Thinking the moment to be very propitious, he sent a powerful force with the ostensible object of effecting the conquest of the

region. But true to their age-long tradition, the Bundela's rose to the occasion in full stature sinking their differences for the moment in the face of a common danger, they rallied for the united defence of their hearth and home under the supreme command of None Arjun Singh, the Commander of Guman Singh's army and inflicted a crushing defeat on the powerful army sent by the Nawab Vizier of Oudh under the command of Karamat Khan and Anup Gir Alias , Himmat Bahadur, in a sanguinary pitched battle at Tindwari in 1763(Himmat Bahadur was the leader and ruler of the Gosains whose first ruler was Indra Giri who had established his hold over Moth in 1745. The Gosains built a fort at Moth and extended their sway in the surrounding country.

Naro Shanker of Jhansi however, defeated them in 1750 and Indra Giri had to flee from Moth with his followers. Later on, he took service with the Nawab Vizier of Oudh and became one of his chief nobles. At his death in 1752, his deciple Anup Giri succeeded him and became one of the commanders of the Oudh army.)²⁵

A year after, the mighty Oudh army met with the same fate at Buxar at the hands of the British Commander Hector Munro (Footnote:- In 1764, a year after the battle of Tindwari. The Oudh army was defeated by Hector Munro at Buxar; but Anup Gir greatly distinguished himself in the battle and saved the Nawab's life by imperiling his own and displaying great valour. The Nawab in recognition of this great act of heroism rewarded him with the title of Himmat Bahadur and assigned to him the parganas of Bindki and Sikandra. Hence forth Anup Gir came to be known by this title.²⁶

The significant repercussion of this great event was that Shujaddaula's military power having been crippled, any chance or likelihood of his repeating the invasion of Bundelkhand appeared to have vanished.

There was thus ushered in again a sense of security which, as usual, proved baneful. The region swung back again to internal dissensions and disputes, characterized by revolts and Skirmishes which flared up into wars of succession for the Panna Raj, first in 1777 A.D. at the death of Hindupat and subsequently, in 1780 when his eldest son Anirudh Singh was ousted by his younger brother Sarmed Singh. A year later when Guman Singh breathed his last, the members of the Panna wars of succession blazed up into a widespread struggle for suzerainty.

It resulted in the augmentation of the territory of the Raja of Banda which then comprised the whole of the district of the same name excluding the fort of Kalinjar and its adjoining territories. These recurring petty wars left the Bundelas to such a state of exhaustion and impoverished them so utterly in the eastern part of Bundelkhand that they were incapable of withstanding any external attack.

No better was the position of the Marathas during this period. Their power and prestige were at the lowest ebb. Balaji Govind and Gangadhar Govind after their father Govindpant Kher's death in the battle of Panipat in 1761, contrived for some time to carry on the management of the Maratha territory in Bundelkhand; so did their brother-in-law Visaji Govind pull on in Saugar. They, however, found it increasingly difficult to realize chauth from the Bundela Chiefs, which led to repeated clash between the Marathas and Bundelas and it told so heavily on their military and Bundelas and it

told so heavily on their military and economic resources that they were soon no longer in a position to ward off any external danger to their supremacy.

(d) Himmat Bahadur's Invasion on Bundelkhand

It was at this juncture that Himmat Bahadur injected himself into Bundelkhand to fish in troubled waters. Though worsted in the battle of Tindwari in 1763 and compelled to flee for life, he was determined as ever to carve out a principality for himself in this region. Enjoying enhanced prestige and power after the Battle of Buxar in which he had greatly distinguished himself, he was readily furnished with a large force by the Nawab Vizier of Oudh and he marched into Bundelkhand with it. First he defeated Ram Chand, the ruler of Datia and exacted chauth from him. Next, he wrested Moth and Gursarai from Balaji Govind who sent piteous appeals to Poona for help. Notwithstanding his preoccupations in the recurring dissensions at the Maratha Capital, Nana Faranvis managed to send an army under the command of Dinkar Rao Anna and sent instructions as well to the rulers of Gwalior and Indore to protect the Maratha cause in Bundelkhand. On his arrival in the region the Maratha Commander was joined by Raghunath Rao Hari Navalkar, then Subedar of Jhansi. Their combined forces defeated Himmat Bahadur time and again, and the Gosains were driven from Gursarai as a consequence. Subsequently, with the arrival of the forces of Scindia and Holkar the Gosains were utterly discomfited and even dislodged from Moth as well. Their leader Himmat Bahadur was hunted from pillar to post, and ultimately forced to seek refuge in Oudh again, while the remnant of his force went over to the Marathas and joined their ranks. Still, despite repeated reverses, the undaunted Gasain leader did not despair of achieving success in his

mission. He clung to it with dogged tenacity, till at last he succeeded in securing his admission in the service of the Marathas in 1775. They employed him in their incursions in the North, during which he came in contact with Ali Bahadur who was then serving as one of the Commanders under the supreme command of Dinkar Rao Anna. The crafty Gosain leader ever cherishing the ambition of re-establishing his authority in Bundelkhand invited the Nawab to join hands with him subjugating Bundelkhand with a view to carving out independent principalities for themselves. The suggestion found favour with Ali Bahadur and later on it led to an agreement between the two leaders and their combined attempt to subjugate the region.

(e) British Appearances in Bundelkhand

While these two aspiring leaders were scheming for the conquest of Bundelkhand, the British made their appearance in the region for the first time in 1778. The time was very opportune. The Bundelas and Marathas were flying at each others throat. Besides, they also got a plausible justification for infiltrating themselves in the region when Raghoba in his vain bid for Peshwaship sought British help in 1775, which they were only too fain to render. Warren Hastings, then Governor- General, decided to send a force from Calcutta across the Indian Penninsula to help the aspirant for Peshwaship. In arriving at this decision the Governor – General was actuated by certain motives. He wanted the British force to take possession of Kalpi in their stride across the Penninsula, for the city was of strategic importance and provided the key for Central India. Kalpi was accordingly attacked and captured by the British force in 1778.

Its further advance was, however, successfully checked by the Marathas. Nevertheless, Warren Hastings was ultimately successfully in obtaining a safe passage for it by concluding secret treaties with Kaimji Chaube of Kalinjer, the Nawab of Bhopal, and the Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur. The British force under Col. Goddard was thus able to reach Maharashtra across the Penninsula. The march of British troops through Bundelkhand dealt a severe blow to the already waning prestige of the Marathas in the region ; though it is true that no sooner had Col. Goddard crossed the Narbada than the Jhansi and saugar forces attacked and recaptured Kalpi . But at the time when the Saugar forces were engaged in the fight at Kalpi, Visaji Govind was attacked by the Gond ruler named Narhar Shah and his minister Ganga Gir. In the wake of this victory the triumphant Gond ruler embarked upon a regular career of plundering Maratha forts in the areas adjoining Saugar which only the concerted might of the Marathas could finally arrest by utterly defeating the Gonds in the Battle of Tejagarh in 1783. The victory paved the way for the successful re-establishment of the Maratha hold over the Gonds.

Their grip, over Bundelkhand , however, got gradually loosened after the death of Balaji Govind and Gangadhar Govind and their successors sank to the position of petty local chiefs, for they could not keep the recalcitrant Bundela Chiefs under control. The latter, however, were soon overtaken by Nemesis; for they, in turn, had to face the revolt of their own Chieftains.

In short, the whole region seethed with uprisings, and the spirit of clannishness was rampant everywhere. Its evil consequence was battle of Gathwera in 1781, in which Kaimji Chaube and Sarmed Singh emerged victorious.²⁷ But the battle did not prove decisive. It was followed by two

others, one at Durga Tal and the other at Chacharia , the latter being a most sanguinary and obstinate engagement in which almost all the Bundela Chiefs of the Eastern part of Bundelkhand participated and many of them were slain. The survivors with the exception of the Raja of Banda, who had greatly extended his territory with the help of his Commander Arjun Singh, were left utterly exhausted.

Such was the somber outlook in the closing eighties of the eighteenth century when the Maratha chiefs anxious to recover their prestige and supremacy, once again sought help from the Poona Durbar. A huge army was accordingly sent in 1789 under the command of Ali Bahadur who was soon joint by Himmat Bahadur. The two allies jointly entered upon the task of subjugating the region held by recalcitrant chiefs after having arrived at an agreement between themselves in respect of the territory falling into their hands through conquest. Ali Bahadur was to be the ruler of Banda, while Himmat Bahdur was also promised some portion of the conquered territory.

The allied formidable force, numbering 40,000, proved almost irresistible. Banda, Charkhari and Bijawar were successively defeated and completely subdued. Panna and Chhatarpur followed suit and made their submission. All these States acceded to the demand of Chauth also. Thus the Maratha supremacy was re-established in these parts of the region. Kalinjar, however, stood courageously defiant and successfully withstood the protected siege in the face of tremendous odds for two years. Relief came only as a result of Ali Bahadur's death during siege operations, on August 28, 1802. His son and successor Shamsher Bahadur, hearing at Poona of the sad news of the inopportune death of his father, immediately

dashed to Kalinjar, raised the siege and established himself as the ruler of Banda.

Now while Scindia, annoyed at the treaty of Bassein, was covertly planning to attack British territories in the Doab, Shamsheer Bahadur was selected by Nana Faranvis to vindicate Maratha honour and prestige by attacking British territories north of Bundelkhand. "Of the plan of hostile operations which was suggested by the latter Chieftain (Jaswant Rao Holkar), the invasion of the British territories in the gangetic Doab, and a predatory incursion into the district of Mirzapore and Benaras by the route of Bundelkhand, would appear to have formed one of the measures to which the greatest importance was attached and for the execution of these measures the Nawab Shamsheer Bahadur was selected."²⁸

But the contemplated Maratha plan of concerted action against the British was upset by Himmat Bahadur's scrupulously throwing in his lot with the British at that very critical juncture. Having fallen out with Shamsheer Bahadur, he pledged his assistance to the British in establishing their control over the Maratha territory ceded to them in consequence of the treaty of Bassein. In return, he was promised the possession of a territory being on the right bank of the Jamuna River and fetching an annual income of twenty lakhs of rupees.²⁹

Thus the unpatriotic and selfish action of Himmat Bahadur virtually sealed the fate of the region which eventually lost its freedom. Indeed, its occupation by the British was greatly facilitated by the traitorous Gosain leader. He spared no pains in helping the British by fighting in conjunction and on behalf of them. Besides, his knowledge of the topography of the land proved of inestimable value to them in the work of consolidation.

The administration of the British territories in Bundelkhand having been started with the arrival of Capt. Baillie in 1803 on an entirely fiscal and military basis, the British now girt themselves for their all around expansion. Their first blow fell on Shamsheer Bahadur, Nawab of Banda. He was defeated and deprived of his territories. "During the negotiations between the British Government and Rajah Himmat Bahadur, the Nawab Shamsheer Bahadur had arrived in Bundelkhand. But his efforts to establish his authority against the British Government were unsuccessful, and he was content to accept a provision (No.LXIII) of four lakhs of rupees a year from the British Government, with permission to reside in Banda. This provision was subsequently guaranteed (No.-LXIV) to him in 1812. Shamsheer Bahadur died in 1823, and was succeeded by his brother, Zulfikar Ali. To him succeeded Ali Bahadur, who joined in the rebellion of 1857, and was therefore deprived of the pension of four lakhs a year. He was placed under surveillance and was allowed for his support a pension of rupee 36,000 a year for life. He died in August 1873 and pensions amounting to rupees 1,200 were assigned to his family.³⁰ (For LXIII & LXIV see Treaties Engagements and Sumuds by Aitchison p.p.227-230)

Also the lands lying on the Jamuna river (exclusive of the territories belonging to Himmat Bahadur) and yielding an annual revenue of fourteen lakhs of rupees were taken possession of. (These acquisitions by the British laid the foundation for the subsequent formation of the districts of Banda, Hamirpur and Jalaun.)

Now whatever little opposition remained was easily borne down by the might of British arms and the ceded territories were gradually extended at the expense of the local rulers. The chiefs who held other remaining portions of Bundelkhand were obliged to acknowledge British

Paramountcy, especially after 1817, when the Peshwa renounced all claims to suzerainty in favour of the British. They were nevertheless maintained in their territorial rights with a view to forming a barrier against the inroads which were then meditated by Holkar. As the authority of the Peshwa in Bundelkhand was little more than nominal, it was considered necessary to enter into engagements with the chiefs holding territories in the Peshwa's share of the region.

Accordingly engagements were entered into, which secured to them the rights they enjoyed under Ali Bahadur, on condition of allegiance and fidelity. The chiefs in the western part of Bundelkhand were treated as independent, and treaties of friendship and alliance were formed with them. All the sovereign rights of the Peshwa finally accrued to the British on the extinction of the Peshwas power in 1817.

There were forty one states of more or less importance. The only states which had formal treaties were Tehree, Datia, and Samthar. The other chiefs held their territories under sanads and were bound by Ikrarnamahs or deeds of fealty and obedience.

States Which Later on Lapsed or Were Confiscated

Jalaun:

Nana Govind Rao was in possession of the state of Jalaun at the time of British occupation of Bundelkhand. As he had joined Shamsheer Bahadur in his hostility to the British Government his territories were occupied by the troops in 1806. However, on his submission in 1806, they were restored to him with the exception of Kalpi and a few villages on the banks of the

Jamuna, and was even exempted from tribute and military service in lieu of the cession of the district of Kande and some villages in the pargana of Churkhi. At his death in 1822 he was succeeded by his son Bala Rao Govind who died heirless in 1832. His widow, therefore, adopted Rao Govind Rao , at whose death in 1840 the territory was held to have lapsed.³¹

Jhansi

The first treaty was made with Sheo Rao Bhao, the then ruler of the Jhansi state. He was succeeded in 1815 by his grandson Ram Chand Rao with whom a new treaty was made in 1817. Ram Chand Rao died childless in 1835, and the succession of his uncle Raghunath Rao was recognized. (He also died without a legitimate issue was Nawab Ali Bahadur) and was succeeded by his younger brother Gangadhar Rao. But owing to his incompetence, the management of the state was taken up by British in their own hands. However, in 1843 the administration was transferred to him under conditions specified in an agreement signed on 27th November, 1842. He married Lakshmi Bai in 1848 and a son was born to him in 1852, who unfortunately died in infancy. So the childless Gangadhar adopted Anand Rao, then a mere baby, as his son before his death which occurred on November 21, 1853; but the adoption was not admitted by the British and the state was held to have lapsed to the British Government.

Jaitpur

The state was held by a descendant of Chatrasal. The first sanad was granted by the British Government to Raja Kesari Singh, the ruler of the state, in 1812. Fifty two rent-free villages in the pargana of Panwaree were assigned to him "as long as the Rajah and his successors shall remain

faithful and discharge the terms of the agreement.”³² Kesari Singh was succeeded by Parichat who was deposed for rebellion in 1842. The estate was then conferred on Khet Singh, who as a descendent of Chatrasal had advanced his claim to the state of Charkhari. On his death in 1849 without a male heir the state lapsed to the British government.³³

Khadi

It was a small jagir granted in 1807 to Parasu Ram, “the leader of a band of plunderers” for the pacification of Bundelkhand. He died in 1850 and the jagir was accordingly resumed.³⁴

Besides the above – mentioned states that lapsed to the British Government, there were some that were confiscated. The chiefs of Tiroha , Chirgaon , Purwa, Vijay Raghogarh, Shahgarh, Banpur and a few other minor estates were granted sanads confirming them in their possessions; but their territories were confiscated for acts of rebellion either before or during the rising of 1857.³⁵

To conclude, the territories ceded to the British by the Peshwa together with those that lapsed or were confiscated, were ultimately formed into administrative units as districts of Banda, Hamirpur, Jalaun, and Jhansi.

States Held Under Treaties

The states with which formal treaties were concluded by the British Government were as mentioned previously. Orchha, Datia, and Samthar.

Orchha

It was the only state that was not subject to the Peshwa, even though the Marathas had severed from it the territory which formed a part of the state of Jhansi. A treaty of friendship and alliance was concluded by the British government with Raja Vikramajit Mahendra, the then ruler, on December 23, 1812.³⁶ In 1834 he was succeeded by his brother Tej Singh who died in 1842, after having adopted his cousin's son, Sujan Singh. The adoption was recognized by the British and Larai Rani was appointed regent during the minority of the ruler, and was acting as such during the upheaval of 1857.

Datia

Originally, an off shoot of Orchha, it came under the suzerainty of the British by the treaty of Bassein. Its ruler Raja Parichat concluded with the British a treaty on March 15, 1804. (Treaties, Engagements and sanads: Aitchin pg.192-193 and LXXV-LXXVI Pg.264-270) .At his death in 1839, he was succeeded by Vijya Bahadur ,a branch of Parichat's family. Vijya Bahadur who succession was however disputed by Madan Singh of Baroni, A branch of Parichat's family. But the British Govt. did recognized the claims of the Baroni family. Vijay Bahadur died on November 19, 1857 and was succeeded by his adopted son Bhawani Singh.

Samthar

A treaty was concluded with Rajah Ranjit Singh on 12th November, 1817 (pages 193-194 and LXXVII-LXXVIII -270-273). He was succeeded by his son Hindupat in 1827.

The remaining states were held under sanads. The chiefs of eight of these were the direct descendents of Raja Chhatrasal who had 'twenty-two legitimate and thirty illegitimate sons.' Only four of the former, namely, Padam Singh, Hirdesa, Jagat Raj, and Bharti Chand had off springs. But as Chhatrasal had apportioned his territory only between Baji Rao and his two sons Hirdesa and Jagat Raj, to the exclusion of all other sons, family dissensions' for the patrimony were natural and were soon rampant throughout the region.

As a consequence Chhatrasal's once powerful state was ultimately split up into petty cheifships, all too weak to bear the brunt of Ali Bahadur's attack and to refuse to acknowledge Maratha suzerainty and pay chauth to the Peshwa. By the time the British established their sway over Bundelkhand, the descendants of Hirdesa held the states of Panna and Lughasi, where as Charkhari, Bijawar, Ajaigarh and Sarilla, were held by the decendents of Jagatraj. The state of Jigni was held by a grandson of Chhatrasal's eldest son Padam Singh and Jaso was held by a grandson of Bharti Chand. Beri was in the possession of a descendant of Jagat Raj in the female line.

In addition to the above – mentioned states the following states had seen formed, before the British advent in the region, out of some of the

territories over in the region, out of some of the territories over which Chhatrasal had ruled:- Chhattarpur , Naigawan Ribai, Garrauli, Banka Pahari, Tori Fatehpur, Bijna, Dhurwai, Baoni, Kamta Rajaula, Palra, Bhai Saunda, Taron and Paldeo.

In granting sanads to the rulers of the above mentioned states and thereby confirming them in their possessions, the British Government followed a principle which Aitchison comments upon in the following words: - "A fundamental principle in the arrangement made by the British was originally declared to be in the confirmation of the chiefs of the region in the possession of such parts of their territorial rights as were held under Ali Bahadur's government subject to their allegiance and fidelity to the British power, their renouncing views of all future aggrandizement; and their abandoning such parts as had been acquired by them subsequent to Ali Bahadur's death. The British government retained only political jurisdiction over these states which were exempt from the operation of general regulation and from the jurisdiction of civil and criminal courts.

The arrangement under sanads were all alike, declaring generally that the territory was received by cession from the Peshwa and annexed to the British dominion but the states of the chiefs were continued to them from motives of justice, benevolence and good faith; they bound the chiefs to implicit submission . loyalty and attachment to the British Government and they required them to govern well ."

Thus, by the end of the first half of the nineteenth century, the whole of Bundelkhand came to be held in subjection as never before. The arrangements effected by the British to keep the ruling chiefs under their political jurisdiction, proved very pernicious. The snug and complacent

notion of security against internal revolt and external attack gradually emasculated the rulers by depriving them of the higher virtues of self-reliance, initiative, enterprise, courage and hardihood. Naturally enough, they gave themselves up to a life of ease, and comfort their time in low pleasures of the flesh. Consequently, they do not only lose their qualities of tenacity and even clannishness, but ceased as well to have their fingers on the pulse of their subjects. This led to the dissolution of all ties between the ruler and the ruled and loss of all intimate contact between them.

Their traditional identification with the people, their cause and aspirations thus became a phenomenon of the past. Such was not the case of Bundela chiefs alone; the Maratha leaders of this region, too, were not immune from the baneful effects of British tutelage. Indeed, the canker had entered the soul of the Bundela and Maratha chiefs alike. This explains why the Bundelkhand chiefs, despite age-long traditions of tenacious patriotism and love of freedom and independence personified in the character and career of Chhatrasal and Govindpant Kher, did not at all feel any compunction in betraying their country's cause by allying themselves with the British against their own countrymen, who were striving with their might and main to rid their country of the foreign stranglehold, and by helping the alien rulers in the task of extinguishing the fires of the great upheaval of 1857. Many of them, to their everlasting ignominy, officiously volunteered to help the British in establishing their rule in the region.

Yet in this all too pervasive atmosphere of treachery and betrayals, there were brave souls also among them, who flashed across the freedom movement of that period, ever to serve as beacon lights of patriotism for the future generations. Such noble souls, however, were few and far between.

As a rule the ruling chiefs had begun to love the golden manacles that bound them to a state of utter subordination and helplessness.

In short, the history of Bundelkhand, from 1804 to 1857, is a painful record of utter degradation of the rulers and the consequent misery of the ruled. Between them had sprung up an unbridgeable gulf of aloofness. Immersed in base pleasures and secure in their possessions, under British protection, the former naturally lost sight of their time-honoured duty of ruling in the interest and for the welfare of the people. Instead, they drifted towards indulging themselves in the acts of cruelty, oppression and injustice against the people, as if to provide a sort of exercise to their perverted martial qualities of dogged clannishness.

Jhansi: Its History During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries Till the Revolt of Eighteen Fifty-Seven

The territory bequeathed by Chhatrasal to Peshwa Baji Rao I included most of the present district of Jhansi. It was then entrusted to the temporary command of a Maratha Rigvedi Brahman, Naro Shanker Dani, with the title of 'Subedar of Jhansi'. In 1742 he was commissioned to collect the revenues of Jhansi and to undertake an expedition against the ruler of Orachha, who was obviously loath to recognize the suzerainty of the Peshwa. His prompt military action met with but slight resistance and the bulk of territories were occupied by the raiders. As a consequence Naro Shanker appropriated to himself a large slice of the Orchha state. Elated with this phenomenal success the Subedar enlarged the fort of Jhansi that had been built during the time of Akbar by Maharaja Vir Singh of Orchha.

Besides, he founded the city of Jhansi. He held the office of Subedar almost like an independent ruler with distinction, and was treated as one of the great military chiefs of the Maratha Empire.³⁷ He held the office with distinction for fourteen years. By inviting many Brahmins and other families from the Deccan, he made Jhansi an essentially a Maratha colony in Bundelkhand. After Naro Shanker the following line of Subedars succeeded one after the other:- Mahadaji Govind Kakirde (1756-1760), Bau Rao Konher Kolhatkar (1761-1765), Viswas Rao Lakshman, Naro Shanker's Nephew, (1765-1769), Raghunath Rao Navalkar (1769-1794), in whose family the chief ship became hereditary, its last ruler being Rani Lakshmi Bai.³⁸

Raghunath Rao Hari Navalkar administered the area for about quarter of a century. He was a ruler of great ability and stamina, and was mainly instrumental in bringing about the ignominious rout of Himmatt Bahadur And driving out the Gosheoains from Moth and Gursarai . His successor Sheo Rao Bhau was 'a man of head as well as of courage' (Marquis of Hastings). He succeeded in making the subedarship hereditary. He ruled from 1794 to 1815, and it was during his regime that the Peshwa's territory in Bundelkhand was ceded to the British in 1803.³⁹ Confronted with this new situation, Sheo Rao Bhau concluded a treaty of defensive alliance with the British, under date, the 6th February, 1804. By this process he recognized the British East India Company as a paramount power beside that of the Peshwa, and rendered the British invaluable help in inducing other ruling chiefs to recognize their supremacy. But the Subedar of Jhansi, it should be remembered, was still a tributary of the Peshwa.

However, at his death Sheo Rao Bhau was succeeded by his grandson Ram Chand Rao in 1816, who, in consequence of the extinction

of the Peshwa's power in 1817 and his renouncing all claim to suzerainty in Bundelkhand , became a British vassal. Nonetheless, Ram Chand Rao was, by an altogether separate treaty in 1817, confirmed in his possessions in recognition of the "Very respectable character borne" by his deceased father Sheo Rao Bhau.

The British Government "consented to acknowledge and constitute Ram Chandra and his heir successors and hereditary rulers" of the territory enjoyed by Sheo Rao Bhao excepting Moth. Later on, Lord William Bentick conferred on Ram Chand Rao the high-sounding title of Maharajadhiraj during his visit to Jhansi, and also sent a complimentary letter from Saugar to serve as the patent of his rank and authority. Ram Chand Rao died in 1835 at the age of 28, "leaving a young widow and a mother but no child."⁴⁰ His uncle Raghunath Rao, therefore, was nominated to succeed him.

The latter ruled only for three years; and as he died in 1838 ⁴¹ without a legitimate heir, his younger brother Gangadhar Rao succeeded him to the gaddi of Jhansi. But owing to his " incompetence" direct management of the state was retained by the British till 1843 when the administration of the territory was made over to Gangadhar Rao under conditions specified in an agreement dated 27th December ,1842. ⁴²

After assumption of the reins of government Gangadhar Rao ruled over Jhansi "wisely and well" for ten years; and then on 21st November, 1853 ⁴³ at 1 P.M., he died. As "there was no male heir to any of the chiefs who ruled Jhansi since its first connection with the British Government" the state was declared to have lapsed notwithstanding the fact that the Raja, as already pointed out, had, in his lifetime, adopted Anand Rao as his son,

with due ceremonies, to succeed him, and nominated Rani Lakshmi Bai to act as regent during his minority. ⁴⁴ He had also sent letters ⁴⁵ (Kharitas) to the then Governor General Lord Dalhousie to this effect, requesting him to accept the adoption in recognition of the unflinching loyalty and very helpful services of his house to the cause of the British Government in Bundelkhand. (W.M. Torrens: Empire in Asia): But it was all bootless; the Governor General's fiat was irrevocable. ⁴⁶

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Chapter - III
Socio - Economic
Background
of the Revolt of 1857

CHAPTER – 3

Socio – Economic Background of the Revolt of 1857

British sovereignty Bundelkhand started with the treaty of Bassein in 1802 by which the English got certain territories in the region from the Marathas. With the result Capt. John Belly arrived in Banda hurriedly and took over the possession of the territory.¹ Since the intention of the foreign rule was to exploit the region from the socio-economic point of view. Therefore, Belly made out a revenue settlement from the Kisans and Zamindars and settled out the rates hurriedly. Since he was not familiar with the nature of the tract. Therefore, he invited Mirza Zafar from Lucknow and entrusted him to settle the proper revenue rates. Mirza Zafar compared the revenue rates prevailing during the time of the Nawab of Banda and fix out temporarily the rate of revenue till the permanent settlement was made. It is well known that almost whole of the Banda District came under the British in accordance the provisions of the treaty of Puna, which took place in 1803 ². This treaty ensued the Regulation no.4 in this area. As far as the territory adjoined the Kalinjer was concerned it was managed by the Chaube Jagirdar till 1812.³ When the exchange of territory took place between the British and Chaube Jagirdars in consequence of this exchange the Chubes acquired some villages in Bhitari and Badausa . In exchange the British acquired Kalinjer.⁴ Pargana Khandeh which were under the possession of Maratha subedar of Jalaun was too acquired by the British with the death of Raja Gangadhar Rao.

However, at the time of his death the state of Jhansi had included nine paraganas namely, Jhansi, Pichore , Karera, Mau, Pandwaha and

Vijaygarh. Besides, Moth, Bhandar & Garotha were too part of the British rule⁵. About half of the portion of the Jhansi district was settled by Capt. Gordon prior to outbreak of Mutiny in 1857. Gordon had settled the parganas of Moth, Bhandar and Garotha. Where as the rest portion of district Jhansi was settled by Jen Kinson after the establishment of law and order⁶. First of all the parganas of Moth, Bhandar and Garotha had been part of the district of Jalaun till 1854.

With the result these parganas were settled by the Supdt. of Jalaun summarily for time being. Later on Erskine settled them along with the other parganas.

Revenue Settlement of Banda

J.D. Erskine, the first collector of Bundelkhand district made the first settlement for a single year 1805-06.

He also made the second settlement for three years i.e., 1806-07 to 1808-09. The ultimate demand fixed for the entire district for 1808-08 was rupees 13,53,723. The assessment was rather high in the eastern parganas and low in the western ones.⁷

The third settlement was framed by John Wauchope (who succeeded Erskine in December 1808) for 3 years i.e. 1809-10 to 1811-12. His assessment marked an enhancement by over 13 percent. This settlement was continued without any alteration for a second period i.e., 1812-13 to 1814-1815.⁸

Scott Waring made the fourth regular settlement in 1815 and subsequently years. The year 1816 was memorable one in Bundelkhand because Waring, the settlement officer raised the Govt demand at that time when the agriculturist were in ruinous state.⁹ The gross was not less than 46 percent exclusive of the assessment of seven mafi villages resumed by him. In the western parganas the jama was enhanced by 21 percent exclusive of the assessment of 32 resumed villages.¹⁰ It raised the revenue of Hamirpur by three lakhs and a quarter.¹¹ Waring seized at every pretext which could warrant increase of revenue. The Tahsildar of Kalpi was dismissed for submitting too low an estimate and the Tahsildar of Jalalpur was turned out of Collector's camp with indignity because he failed to procure a farming officer of sufficiently higher bid.¹² Due to heavy assessment when revenue could not be smoothly realized, Waring was compelled to seek permission to sell estates in the whole district, the arrears of which amounted to 1,86,249 rupees. Consequently transfers of property became very frequent and arrears accumulated on a large scale.¹³

The fifth regular settlement in Banda was begun by Cambell and finished by Reade. The former jamas were carried on with alterations in estates that had begun to suffer from over assessment.¹⁴ Campbell effected a total reduction of rupees 87,138. This settlement being quinquennial lasted till 1825, and marks a turning point in the fiscal history of Banda district.

The sixth regular settlement began in 1825 and were conducted by Wilkinson, Fane and Begbie. Begbie, who succeeded Fane as Collector in 1827 admitted that the assessment fixed by Fane and himself in Banda, Pailini, Augasi and Simauni were too high. In 1829-

30 proposals were put forward for the sale of 116 villages, nearly one seventh of the district, paying a demand of rupees 2, 73,031 and defaulting to the extent of rupees 1,22,227. ¹⁵

After Begbie, the settlement work was entrusted in 1842 to W.B. Wright, a Deputy Collector. R.M.Bird, a senior member of the Board of revenue was of opinion that the jama of the district in the aggregate was fair and reasonable. Wright was, therefore, instructed to simply equalize the assessment. But when the settlement work was completed, it was found that he had exceeded Bird's estimate by 29,000 rupees. ¹⁶

Surrounded by these difficulties H. Rose and Edgewarth proposed reductions in 1847-48. In spite of this relief too the arrears could not be cleared and the transfer of land continued unprecedentedly. ¹⁷ F.O. Mayne who was the Collector of Banda in 1855-56 also found it impossible to realize the demand. Thus, he proposed further reductions ¹⁸ to solve the problem which of course, was the outcome of severe assessments.

Due to high rates of revenue the condition of the agriculturists became from bad to worse and feeling of hatred towards the British was strengthened. No doubt the Collector of Banda proposed a large reductions in 1855-56, but by that time the stream of unrest had become full and the people had raised a standard of revolt. Keene rightly remarked that the first outbreak was not military, but a rural rising. ¹⁹

Revenue Settlement of Hamirpur

Governor General's Agent Capt. Bellei made the revenue settlement of district in 1805-06. Its Collector Eriskin had realized the great difficulty in

dealing with the notorious leaders of the area like Parasnath, Gopal Singh and Dauva. However, with the military he managed to restore the law and order and settled the district. ²⁰ Erskin had made second settlement of district Hamirpur in 1805. But the notorious leaders like Gopal Singh and others had been able to maintain their influence were the western parganas of district.

The third revenue settlement was carried out in between 1811-12 by Wauchope ²¹ which was followed subsequently. Scott and Waring settled Hamirpur in 1815. It was the fifth regular revenue settlement which was completed in five years from 1815-1820. ²² However, it was thought proper to revise the revenue rate of pargana Kalpi. It is well known that Allen had settled the parganas of Sumerpur, Mahoba, Rath, Panwari and Kharka in 1842. Where as the rest of Parganas like Hamirpur, Kalpi, Jalalpur, Khaka and Konch (these area included in Hamirpur) were settled by W. Muir. Freeling had settled Mahoba in 1855-56. ²³

Revenue Settlement of Jalaun

The parganas were included in the state of Jalaun in 1838 were kept under the supervision of Lieutenant Doolan²⁴ . It included the parganas of Kalaun , Kanar, Mohammadabad , Itaura, Rampura, Mahoba and Moth which were settled in 1839 for a short period. Subsequently , it was settled for the second time for the period of one year in 1840²⁵. The third revenue settlement of the above parganas were made in between 1841 to 1845 for the period of five years . However, Chirgaon was kept under the British rule in 1841 because its Zamindars had become rebellion²⁶. The Parganas of Kachwagarh and Bhandar which had been included in the state of

Gwalior in 1844 was settled by Capt. Ross. Later on these parganas were transferred to the British which included in the district of Jalaun.²⁷

Capt. Erskine succeeded Capt. Ross in 1849 and he settled Jaitpur in the same year. The parganas Moth and Jaitpur were subsequently transferred to Hamirpur in March 1853 and in exchange Jalaun was given to parganas of Kalpi and Konch. However, these were again change in territory of the Jalaun district in 1854 when the parganas of Moth, Chirgaon and Garotha had been transferred to Jhansi and thus the revenue settlement of the district of Jalaun like the other adjoining districts was carried out by the different officers which lacked uniformity.

Character & Working of Revenue Settlements

A critical appraisal of revenue settlements of Bundelkhand districts under the British revealed the fact that the foreign rule was adamant to collect more and more revenue from the rural population and that is why rights from the time of Capt. Ballie in 1803 the rates of revenue were increased rapidly by every settlement officers a respective of the paying capacity of the agriculturists. The other important feature of the settlement was the fact that the officers assigned to settle the revenue rates were military officers. They did not bother to assess the economic capacity of the people. Moreover, the uniform policy fixation of revenue rate was applied. In some parganas the rates were high while in others the rates were comparatively very low. This was particular through in regard the village, inhabited by the notorious chiefs²⁸. Similarly concession in revenue rates were also given in the villages of Lalitpur which had been under the influence of notorious Bundela Chiefs. Thus the British gave concession to the notorious elements were as forced to give higher revenue.

It is known facts that the revenue rates were too high and the officers engaged in this task were determined to collect more and more revenue. So that the jama could be increased the higher bosses be pleased. The practice of fixing the higher rates were started right from the arrival of Captain John Bellie in 1803. He had fixed so big amount which agriculturists were unable to pay. With the result Eriskin had to reduce the rates in 1805.²⁹ However, the settlement made afterwards again increase the rate of revenue.

Allen³⁰ was of opinion that the main cause of increasing revenue rates in pargana Panwari of Hamirpur district in 1803 was the fact that the two Kanoongoes engaged in this work in that area had rivalry with each other and the rate was increased because of their conspiracy. It was the basic duties of revenue officers of that district to have taken this development and devised corrective measures. The higher revenue officers knowing the rivalry in between those Kanoongoes could have transferred them are they could have been removed or penalized. But the British officers were happy because of the increased proposals initiated by those Kannongoes. The increased rate ruined the farmers of Panwari to the maximum extent with the result they came on the brink of ruined³¹ which the Scott and Warring were settled the Pargana in 1815.³² They found that the increase in Eastern pargana was 46 percent of the existing rates where as in the western pargana in 21 percent. The most surprising aspects of the settlement was that the commission of the Board of revenue had indicated towards the above anomaly but even then the settlement officer Warring supported the higher rates of revenue.³³ Thus the people who basically were agriculturist suffered a lot and the rural unrest increased which pave the way the rising of revolt of 1857.

Conditions of Agriculture, Natural Calamities Famine & Floods

The higher rates of revenue along with the natural calamities like-frequent famine, flood resulted into the economic ruin of the people of Bundelkhand. The rates of revenue were so high that the agriculturist had to mortgage the landed property and subsequently were forced to dispose the Marwaries, Jainies and other moneylenders. In Hamirpur district itself 815 Jagirs were auctioned in between 1815-1819 because its owners, landlords, were unable to pay Government revenue.³⁴ In 1842 Allen had submitted his report which described the poverty of the district³⁵ which in his words was the result of the high rates of revenue. He had pointed out that "Qutubuddin Hussain Khan, a renowned leader of Lucknow had purchased many villages of Hamirpur districts of the value of 8000 rupees because its landlords were in arrears and could not pay the revenue."³⁶ Thus the landed property slipped out from agriculturists to the moneylenders.

At the same time another trader Zailuddin Khan had also purchased the villages paying a revenue of Rs. 7000.00 but left the district a pauper all his villages having being sold for arrears³⁷. Allen had given vivid examples of the transfer of property to the moneylenders. He had pointed out that in Hamirpur itself another moneylender Dayaram had purchased the land holdings yielding the revenue of 12000 rupees. This landed property belonged to those farmers who were in arrears of revenue and did not pay the Government demand because of the poor economic conditions. Thus tied with the circumstances they sold out the landed property to the moneylender.

The noteworthy feature of this revenue settlement was that Dayaram who had purchased so much land holdings too could not pay the Government demand and he too was forced to dispose of his land holdings. Similarly Zailuddin Khan had also met with the same fate. Mirza Mohammad Khan of Allahabad had also purchased the zamindari of two villages at the same time and its revenue was of 4000 rupees.³⁸ There was a Government lawyer named Nunayat Rai of Hamirpur who had also purchased the Zamindari in some villages but both the purchasers (Mirza & Rai) suffered heavily and disposed of land holdings to clear Government revenue. Similar was the situation of Diwan Madan Singh who had also disposed of this landed property. The surprising feature of the result of this higher rate of revenue was the fact that a European zamindar Gull had purchased some agriculture farmer in Hamirpur district. But he declined so much economically that ultimately Gull had no way but to dispose of his landed property.

The socio-economic poverty was not limited to Hamirpur district only but it was wide spread.

As early as 1839 short term settlement had been made for the parganas of Moth, Garotha and Bhandar which were the parts of district Jalaun till 1854, by the superintendent of Jalaun.³⁹ Later on Major Eriskin Supdt. of Jalaun made the large summary settlements which were based on accurate measurements and on the basis of Maratha documents showing revenue much above what those parganas could properly pay and prosper.⁴⁰ Thus the settlements of Jalaun were equally harsh with result the agriculturist suffered heavily.

If the people of Bundelkhand had been forced to pay the heavy land revenue and thus to suffer because of the policy of exploitation of British. Then on the other hand they had to face disastrous effect of the British policy of trade and commerce a part from the ruinous effects of natural calamities.

It is well known fact that the British had exploited the whole of India from the socio-economic point of view and thus the Bundelkhand was not an exception to it. East India Company after its establishments sprang up rapidly. Its traders brought the maximum numbers of commodities to India from England. Especially foreign clothes, iron made goods and other articles of daily need. These commodities were manufactured in the factory of Manchester, Liverpool, Lankashire and Berimgham. The articles imported from England of English factories soon dominated the market of Bundelkhand. In order to facilitate English trade heavy duties were imposed on local manufactures. With the result the local made things became costly and the people started purchasing of trade had ruined the small scale of industries and the people depended on it became unemployed.

Decline in Dye Industry

Dye industry was most developed in Bundelkhand during the beginning of the British rule. The root of the *Al* plant was profitable source of gain. Dye was prepared from the roots of *Al* plant, which was cultivated in good quality of Mars soil.⁴² It was highly prized for its beautiful and permanent dye. The roots of this plant were boiled and subsequently different types of colours were manufactured which was used in dyeing the clothes.⁴³ This industry was most developed in Mauranipur and the adjoining areas.

Tharua a local made cloth was coloured by this dye which were very popular in the market. It was the great source of income to the wavers engaged in this trade. The most striking feature of the British policy of exploitation were that this colour industry was declined and British could not do anything for its protection. It appears the foreign rule was adamant to crush it out so that the people could have depended on British made goods and colours.⁴⁴ With the result of this policy the district of Bundelkhand suffered heavily.

Resumption of Rent Free Tenures and Loss of Ubari Rights in Jhansi

These tenures, relics of the times of Indian rulers and granted for services to the state were of different kinds. Some were burdened with conditions and some were not so. Some were personal life grants and some were hereditary and perpetual. Some of them had been fairly earned, while some had been fraudulently acquired. For sometime they had been part of the British administrative system, and had come to be regarded as rightfully belonging to the occupants.⁴⁵ The new school of officers did not like the idea that so much land revenue should be lost to the state and be squandered away by an unprofitable class.⁴⁶ The holders were called upon to prove the original validity of their titles. It was a part of the duty of the settlement officers to resume or release from assessment the lands thus held in Bundelkhand as in other parts of the North-Western Provinces. These were several cases where the estates had been acquired honestly but documents in support of them were not available.⁴⁷

There were instances in which strong proofs of validity were ignored and royal farmans and other authentic documents were rejected in order to bring on the rent roll of the company lands which had been for many generations free from assessment.⁴⁸ The resumption or the conversion into life tenures, of hereditary rent free tenures of land of hereditary interests connected with the land or the land revenue had reduced many of the dispossessed landlords to a state of indigence, and thus resulted in promoting discontent against the British Government.⁴⁹

The Pawar, Thakurs and Ubaridars of Udgaon, Noner, and Jigna, who were men of influence, had lost their Ubari rights in several of their villages. Their estates had been in whole or part resumed. Naturally, it was bound to create resentment among them. On the commencement of the revolt they fought against the British.⁵⁰

Thus both the rural classes and the landed chiefs were victims of the land revenue policy of the British Government which had ruined them to a large extent. Both the classes goaded by similar grievances combined during the revolt in a common endeavour to regain what they had lost. It was certainly in the soil and hereditary holdings which forced them to revolt.⁵¹

Decline of Trade and Commerce

At the time of British occupation of Bundelkhand, Kunch, Kalpi and Mauranipur were important centres of trade and commerce. As late as 1840 Kunch was said to have been an emporium so flourishing as to be celebrated throughout Bundelkhand. It possessed 52 banking houses. In spite of bad means of communication, an extensive trade in salt, sugar, gur, and ghee as well as foodgrains of every description was carried on with

Samthar, Datia and Gwalior. Kalpi was the largest mart in Northern India, its staple commodities were cotton and Al, which were exported by river to the various place in the North-Western Provinces. Ghee and gram too were exported by this route to Doab. Mau Ranipur was the largest trade emporium of Jhansi district, its export being Al dye, cotton and manufactured goods. It should ever be the first and highest object of a good government to diffuse the blessings of industry, content and plenty. But with the progress of the British rule in Bundelkhand , there was a sharp decline in the two principal article of trade – cotton and Al.⁵²

Cotton grows to great perfection in Bundelkhand. Its produce is not only abundant but the texture is soft and its colour whiter as compared to the cotton of the Doab. Naturally it fetched a higher price and was more eagerly sought after. It formed the staple commodity of Kalpi market. The purchase of Government alone one time amounted to 40 lakhs a year and that of private individuals to 18 lakhs; but after 1830 , the former was discontinued and the latter dwindled down to bare 7 lakhs. This decline may be attributed to oppressive land settlements made by the British authorities in the district, which brought in its train misery and poverty.⁵³

The root of the Al plant was another profitable source of gain. It was exported to the different parts of the North- Western Provinces. Its trade also declined due to the imposition of a very heavy 'advalorem' custom duty. Add to this the arbitrary divisions of its quality for the purpose of levying duty. It was very difficult to draw any line of distinction between first and second and third qualities of Al, in consequence of which an exporter who paid the duty on the second quality was often liable to be accused of exporting Al of the first quality.⁵⁴ The decadence in export that had set in advanced rapidly.

To sum up it can be said that the declying in trade and industry proved disastrous and the inhabitants who had been suffering because of the ruinous effect of continuous famines and other natural calamities found it very difficult to earn their livelihood. Under these circumstances it appears that the socio- economic backwardness of Bundelkhand which was the consequence of the British rule inculcated in the minds of the people the feeling affected which ultimately became the responsible for the out break of the revolt in this region.

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Chapter - IV

**Annoyance of the People
of Bundelkhand**

CHAPTER – 4

Annoyance of the People of Bundelkhand

Lord Dalhousie had provided the coping stone to the edifice of the British dominion in India and during the eight years of his Governor – Generalship, had ceaselessly and indefatigably worked to this end. He had extended the bounds of the British Empire in India to their farthest limits and had brought under direct British rule as extensive an area as possible by conquest and applications of Doctrine of Lapse.

Lord Wellesley's Subsidiary Alliance system had paid rich dividends and its applications had resulted in bringing all the native rulers within the orbit of British paramountcy. But Lord Dalhousie's zeal for conferring the 'Boon of British rule' directly on as many Indians as possible, outran his discretion. By persistently annexing the various native states indiscriminately, and on one ground or the other, justifiable or otherwise, he had caused great uneasiness in the Indian mind already agitated due to the many reforms and innovations already introduced. In all these acts of his the Governor General had displayed but little imagination and thoughtfulness. Further, the missionary activities were another cause for aggravating Indian feelings. Indians sensed danger to their religion in all their activities; and the ruling chiefs felt extremely insecure as a result of rootless application of the Doctrine of Lapse.

Such was the atmosphere created by Lord Dalhousie. There were discontent everywhere and thus the Indians were greatly annoyed. There was sullenness everywhere. But it was mistaken for the quiet of peace by the white rulers. It however, proved to be the lull before the storm. The

British rulers in the hey day of their expanding empire where in a mistaken move of absolute complacency and Lord Canning, the successor of Lord Dalhousie had been assured of a very smooth sailing of the ship of the state. Superficially, the political weather looked quite calm and fair, obviously the British had reached the height of their power and nothing seemed wanting to complete it. Sad disillusionment, however, was in store for them. The whole country was soon to be convulsed with an upheaval which shook the British Empire in India to its foundations and resulted in disappearance of foreign rule from many a part, for some time at least.

Historians have, therefore, rightly regarded the year 1856 as the period of 'lull before the storm'. The atmosphere of sullen discontent was highly inflammable and explosive, and any untoward incident could act as a matchstick to set the conflagration of revolt ablaze. Discontent was slowly giving birth to disaffection and annoyance. The people and princess alike, were feeling the working of this process and were regaining political consciousness.

The Indian soldiers, however, were free from any such notion of weakness or helplessness. On the contrary, he was quite conscious of his power and might, for it was mainly by his loyalty and valour that the structure of British rule had been raised in India a fact of which he was not oblivious. Besides, he was as good an Indian to his very core as anyone else. As religious as people of any other walk of life could be.¹ The Sepoy felt that his was the strong arm that has sustained it so long, and he could overthrow it whenever he wanted. He had hitherto remained loyal to his salt, but when he thought that his employers aimed at nothing less than his ancestral faith, the very basis of that loyalty was shattered. The revolt had been long brewing the greased cartridges only hastened it.²

The soldier was therefore, no less disturb and uneasy. He felt the strangle hold of subjection still more keenly, for he was directly the victim of many inequities. His pay was ridiculously low as compared to that of the British soldiers and there was little scope for him to rise in the military service. The highest rank to which he could aspire to rise was that of Subedar Major. Beside, the numerous restrictions that had been lately imposed on him, had further, aggravated his feelings of dissatisfaction, which had been especially noticeable after the First Afghan War.

The latest of these restrictions were the Services Enlistment Act in 1856, which required him to sign a bond to serve in any part of the country or abroad, even across the sea, without demur. The Hindu soldier clearly saw in this regulation the loss of his caste and religion. Besides, he disliked annexation, which meant it decreases in his importance.³ The Sepoy is not the man consequence he was. He dislikes annexations-among other regions, because each new province added to the Empire widens his sphere of his service and at the same time decrease our foreign enemies and there by the sepoys importance. The other day and an old sepoy of the Bombay cavalry at Nimach being asked if he liked the annexations replied, 'No, I used to be a great Man when I went home; the best in the village rose as I approached ; now the lowest puff their pipe in my face.'⁴

Then came the greased cartridges which ultimately proved the last straw and the Hindu and the Muslim soldiers a like had perforce to, unsheathe their sword to save their religions and to rid the country of the curse of foreign rule. The time also was quite opportune for such an action. The armies of the East India Company had been practically demanded of British troops due to the Crimean War and the existing the disparities of members between the Indian and British troops was an added impetus to

revolt.⁵ The disparity in members between European and Indian troops had been growing greater; when Lord Dalhousie left India the army consisted of 2 lakhs 33 thousand natives and 45 thousand British soldiers.⁶

Such were the causes and the circumstances which led to outbreak, the explosion having been caused by the greased cartridges.

No doubt the above happenings which were taking place on the National scene of India had created great impact on the people of Bundelkhand who had already been facing the evil effects of the foreign rule. Apart from the above the following circumstances became responsible for outbreak of the great uprising in Bundelkhand.

(1) Annoyance of the Ruling Chiefs & Princes

Among the ruling chiefs of Bundelkhand, who were pained or aggrieved with the British Government, the most important was Rani Laxmi Bai, widow of the late Raja Gangadhar Rao of Jhansi, a scion of the Maratha family. The other smaller denomination were Raja Mardan Singh of Banpur, Raja Bakhat Bali of Shahgarh, Narain Rao and Madho Rao of Karwi, Nawab Ali Bahadur of Banda, Tai Bai of Jalaun and wife of Parikshit, a former chief of Jaitpur. All of them was resentful of the high handedness of the British Government and was possessed by a sense of frustration and disappointment was smouldering only to flare up in course of time.

(i) Application of Doctrine of Lapse in Bundelkhand

The origin of "Doctrine of Lapse" has been discussed by a number of historians and they unanimously held that it was not a child of Lord Dalhousie's brain; on the other hand it had stemmed out of the directive of the Court of Directors who laid down as early as 1834 that "where as it is optional with you (Governor- General) to give or to withhold your content to adoptions, the indulgence should be the exception and not the rule, and should never be granted but as a special mark of approbation." Fortunately the application of this doctrine after 1834 was not universal and the intensity of resentment against it remained subdued.

A number of exponents of Hindu Law have condemned the principle of prohibiting adoption. Among the British writers the opinions of Colebrooke⁸ and Thomas Strange⁹ may be cited. Among the historians, Edwin Arnold, Evans Bell and Dr. S.N.Prasad vehemently uphold the right of adoption. Bell calls it 'the specific and inherent principle of the Hindu Law of Inheritance' and adds that 'there is no religious obligation that is held more sacred among Hindoos.'¹⁰ (P.T.O) At another place he observes, "when the full effect and benefit of the Hindoo law of Inheritance are allowed to all our Hindoo subjects, how could we ever pretend to refuse or restrict it in the case of Hindoo Princes, who are our friends and allies; but who are not our subjects".¹¹ Arnold is more specific and says, "with Orientals, however, the right (of adoption) is also a duty, and one of the most imperative kind, the object of adoption being altogether religious, rather than domestic".¹² Dr. S.N.Prasad says, "The paramount was not entitled to withhold his recognition altogether and annex his subordinate principality."¹³

It stands to reason to presume that the responsible members of Government of India had a great appreciation of the susceptibilities of the people than the members of the Court of Directors. The Supreme Government not only sanctioned adoption but urged it on the native princes. Daulat Rao Sindhia and Malhar Rao Holkar had died childless. The latter had adopted a son during his lifetime; where as a successor to the former was adopted by his widow.¹⁴ Both adoptions were deemed to be regular and lawful.

There were three types of Indian states:

(a) Sovereign States

(b) Protected or Tributary States

(c) Subordinate States

It may however be pointed out that Metcalfe was fully aware of the difficulty of categorizing the states of Bundelkhand in the light of distinction enunciated by him. The case of Treaty States was clear and so also that of the subordinate States. But there were some states in Bundelkhand which did not conform to any of the three patterns.¹⁵ Thus so far as the 'Doctrine of Lapse' is concerned; its application in Bundelkhand was brought with serious complications. The states of Bundelkhand which were absorbed into the British Empire under this doctrine were Jalaun in 1840, Jaitpur in 1849 and Jhansi in 1853. The annexation of the last named occasioned for reaching consequences. It was responsible to a great extent for the outbreak of 1857 not only in Jhansi but also in the neighbouring areas.

(ii) Harrasment of the Rani of Jhansi

The refusal of Lord Dalhousie to allow succession to her adopted son subsequent to the annexation of the state of Jhansi, together with a number of other measures proclaimed (promulgated) in quick succession, not only wounded the feelings of the Rani but even of the people of Jhansi as well. The Rani was asked to furnish security and execute a written bond for the safe custody of the personal property of the late Raja in trust for the adopted son.¹⁶ Then she was called upon to pay the debts of her late husband out of her paltry pension of 60,000 rupees a year.¹⁷ Cow slaughter was introduced in Jhansi in spite of her protest as much as those of the people against it.¹⁸ Add to this, large scale resumption of religious endowment, e.g. the villages assigned to the temple of Mahalakshmi at Jhansi¹⁹ and the lands granted by the Rani as Bhumidan in connection with the funeral rites of her husband.²⁰

The British Government also resumed some gardens and cultivated lands which were in possession of the Rani.²¹ It also prevented her from performing some religious rites. When the Rani sought permission to go to Benaras to have her head shaved as was the custom among Hindu widows in those days, but it was refused.²² When she applied for one lakh of rupees out of six lakhs kept in Government treasury in trust for the adopted son to meet the expenses of the sacred thread ceremony of Damodar Rao, the Government declined to pay it unless she could find four sureties for its repayment, in case the boy should demand it on his coming of age.²³ Last but not the least, the reputation of Rani was lost. She petitioned in vain to be kept under the control of the Agent to the Governor-General in Central

of North-Western Provinces.²⁴ In short the attitude of the British Government towards the Rani was not just.

(iii) Ill Treatment to Raja Mardan of Banpur

Raja Mardan Singh was the son of Mor Prahlad , who was obliged to cede two third of his former state to the Sindhia. He was henceforth styled as the Raja of Banpur after the name of a town in his share. In 1843, Mardan Singh succeeded his father as Raja of Banpur on his death.

About April 1857, Thakur Jhujhar Singh of Nanikpur dies. His tenure was resumed by the Government, and a settlement was made with his heirs. But one third of the state was not given to Raja Mardan Singh and he induced Jawahar Singh, the heir of Thakur Jhujhar Singh to revolt in order to compel the Government to restore his tenure.²⁵ Raja Mardan Singh had a number of grievances to be redressed and he entertained the hope of recovering the entire state of Chanderi , the ancient possession of his ancestors in the event of the overthrow of the British Supremacy.

(iv) Grievances of Raja of Shahgarh

The Shahgarh territory was the remnant of the Garhakota state; its remaining parts had fallen either into the hands of the Peshwa's representatives at Saugar or those of Sindhia. The Garahkota or Shahgarh family descended from Hirde Shah, i.e, the Panna Branch of Chhatrsal which was comprised of the Eastern Bundela Chiefs.²⁶ By Article XIII of the Treaty of 1817 with the Peshwa Baji Rao II, the Saugar territory came under the British.²⁷ In 1818 the Shahgarh chief had received possession of Garahkota from Sindia and had been holding it for some time. But when he

was expelled from there, he retired to Shahgarh. The British took possession of Garahkota on behalf of Sindia.

(v) Ill Treatment to Rao of Karwi

Narain Rao and Madho Rao were the adopted sons of Binaik Rao, the son of Amrit Rao. Amrit Rao died in 1824 and was succeeded by his only son Binaik Rao, who died in July 1853b without any issue. He had first adopted Narain Rao, but subsequently disinherited him for undutiful conduct and threw him into prison. On the death of Binaik Rao, the pension was discontinued; his troop's disbanded and all arms and guns were confiscated.

The alienment of the funds for the maintenance of temple at Benaras by the British Government annoyed the Raos and the people of Karwi. In 1827 Amrit Rao had deposited 2 Lakhs of rupees at six percent interest with the Government of India for the perpetual maintenance of charities band temple which he had established at Benaras. In 1837 the Government reduced the rate of interest to 4 percent. Three years after the death of Binaik Rao, the payment of the interest was stopped, the reasons for which were never divulged by the Government of India. It shocked everyone and the people felt that no faith could be placed in the promises of the British government.²⁹

(vi) Nawab Ali Bahadur of Banda

Nawab Ali Bahadur was the son of Nawab Zufiqar Ali of Banda. He succeeded his father on his death in 1849. Nawab ali Bahadur on his succession was deprived of almost all his privileges. Nothing was conceded to him who could mean an acknowledgement of sovereignty, cheifship or independence. Instead of being designated as Nawab of Banda, he was asked to add Nawab as Suffix to his name. No salutes were to be given. Even his army was also reduced to mere retinue of 25 sowars and one company of foot soldiers.

The only consideration shown to him was that during his life time he was to remain exempt from the jurisdiction of the British courts.³⁰ The Nawab's feelings were further hurt when the British officer at Banda refused to offer the customary felicitations to him on the birth of a son to him.

The officiating Collector of Banda served a notice upon the Nawab while conducting an enquiry about the rent-free lands in mauza Larakapurwa of pargana Banda. The Nawab protested in strong terms as the notice was derogatory to his honour and rank.³¹ In this way his position and rank were lost reduced, the Nawab represented his sad plight in a Memorial dated March 25, 1856 to the Governor-General. In it he requested for the restoration of the honours and privileges enjoyed by his ancestors.³²

(vii) Annoyance of Rani of Jalaun and Ex- Rani of Jaitpur

The annexation of Jalaun throttled the interests of Tai Bai. Her claims to the State as the grand daughter of Nana Govind Rao were extremely sound but they were ignored by the British authorities.³³

After the deposition of Parikshit , the Chief of Jaitpur in 1842 by the British Government, on account of his insurgence, the state was conferred upon Dewan Khet Singh. But the State lapsed on his death in 1849 due to the want of a male heir. The widow of Parikshit still considered herself as the claimant of the State. On the commencement of the revolt in Hamirpur, she set herself up again at Jaitpur.³⁴

(2) GRIEVANCE OF GENERAL PEOPLE

(i) Over Assessment of Revenue Rates

The land settlements made by the British Government together with the sale of land in default of payment of the Government revenue created discontent and uneasiness among the farmers as well as the landlords of Bundelkhand.

The first Collector of Bundelkhand districts made the first settlement for a single year 1805-06. After that he made second settlement also for three years, i.e. 1806-07 to 1808-09. The assessment was rather high in the Eastern parganas and low in the Western ones.³⁵ The third settlement was framed by John Wauchope. It was for three years, i.e. 1809-10 to 1811-12.

This settlement was continued without any alteration for a second period, i.e., 1812-13 to 1814-15.

In 1815 Scott Warring made the fourth regular settlement. The year 1816 is memorable one in Bundelkhand.

The district of Bundelkhand was divided into 2 districts in 1819. The settlement of Banda and Hamirpur were made separately.

- (ii) Resumption of Rent- Free tenures: (See on earlier pages)**
- (iii) Loss of Ubari Rights in Jhansi: (See on earlier pages)**
- (iv) Decline of Trade and Commerce: (See on earlier pages)**
- (v) Duty on Salt**

The Lieutenant Governor, North- Western Provinces by a Notification dated May 9, 1855, established a Customs Line for the levy of a duty on salt in the territories under the superintendence of the Commissioner of the Sagar division. It ran from the junction of the rivers Jamuna and Sindh, through the districts of Jalaun, Jhansi, Chanderi, Sagar and Narsinghpur to a point on the river Narbada and from there along the

left bank of the Narbada to the Western boundary of the above mentioned territories.

The manufacture of alimentary salt in the territories under the Government of North- Western Provinces, East and South of the Customs Line was prohibited. Customs Houses were established at Jhansi, Sagar and Hoshangabad and Deputy Superintendents and Deputy Commissioners of Districts in which Customs 'jurisdiction was established were invested with the powers of Customs' line was modified. The prohibition of the manufacture of alimentary salt caused much distress to the great mass of the population.

(vi) Civil Justice and Stamps

The system of civil justice and stamps was complicated and expensive. So, the people were dissatisfied with the system of civil justice also.³⁷ The British Government had introduced stamp paper, and it was made a law that no petition or complaint or redress would be received in any court of justice, unless it was written on a stamped paper of certain price.

Thus when the people were unable to purchase stamped paper, they were often compelled to submit to injury, oppression and wrong.³⁸ Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in his essay on the causes of the Indian revolt while deprecating the use of stamp papers has remarked that the introduction and gradual increase in the price of stamp papers in a country like India, where people due to poverty were not in a position to bear such a burden, was improper.³⁹

The was strictness in the use of stamp paper for filling petitions sometimes resulted in incalculable loss. Early in 1857, Ganeshu, a son of Jawahir Singh, Thakur of Nanikpur, presented a petition to Zain-Ul-Abdin Khan, Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector, Chanderi Stating that his father was about to go into rebellion , but his petition was rejected simply because it was not written on stamp paper. Ganeshu waited for two or three days, endeavouring to obtain hearing, but in vain. A few days after Jawahir Singh and other Thakurs went into rebellion.⁴⁰

(vii) Disaffection Among the Former Employees of the Annexed States

In 1800 Colonel Wellesley had declared that the extension of the British territory and influence had been greater than its mean. "Whenever we spread ourselves," he said, "We increase this evil. We throw out of employment and means of subsistence, all who have hitherto managed the revenue, commanded or served in the armies...these people become additional enemies." ⁴¹

The lapse of Jalaun and Jhansi states, the discontinuance of the pension of Binaik Rao of Karwi and the withdrawal of the privileges of Nawab Ali Bahadur II of Banda had resulted in the disbandment of a large number of troops, unemployment of numberless courtiers and officials, dismissal of thousand of retainers and deprivation of the means of subsistence of numerous families, which were dependent on these states or on the above name chiefs. Their discontent like that of their chiefs was only natural and they joined their old masters when they took the lead in the revolt and some of them took a very conspicuous part in the movement.

(viii) Dread of Conversion

When the activities of the missionaries, social legislations relating to abolition of infanticide, sati, widow remarriage, inheritance of converts, expansion of Western education and the introduction of railways and telegraphs were creating alarm among the people of the entire country, Bundelkhand could not remain unaffected and both the Hindus and the Mohammedans there became panicky about their religion. In Bundelkhand, 66 cases of sati were officially reported between 1815 and 1823.⁴²

It was prohibited in 1847 throughout the Bundelkhand states by proclamations issued by the Chiefs.⁴³ The reaction of the general public against the Christian religion and the missionaries manifested itself during the course of the revolt in this region. In Hamirpur, the Christian preacher Jeremiah with his whole family was put to death.⁴⁴

In Banda, the missionary school was plundered a day after the outbreak. The Pappanah Paul Khan of this institution who was released after having been converted to Islam.⁴⁵ Also the Church building at Banda was damaged and its roof was blown off.⁴⁶

(ix) Superstition and Rumours

Like the rest of the country, the people of Bundelkhand were also excited by the circulation of chapatis there. The official records of the period confirm that the chapatis had been in circulation in most of the villages there.⁴⁷ Even its starting point was believed to be Bundelkhand.⁴⁸ It stirred up the rural population of the region for participating in the revolt.⁴⁹

The rumour was spread that the flour sold in the market was mixed with finely ground bones of cow and pig. This rumour agitated the minds of the people of Bundelkhand. It is confirmed by the official accounts of the outbreak at Jhansi, Banda and Gwalior.

In May 1857, a report was circulated in Jhansi that the Government had caused ground bones to be mixed in the flour sold in the market. The people were agitated although the authorities adopted every means to contradict the report.⁵⁰ In Banda, F.O. Mayne, the Collector stored food provisions in the jail to be used in case of emergency. A rumour was immediately circulated that the grain was being stored to be mixed up with ground cow bones and was to be served to the Najibs. Luckily their rising was nipped in the bud, but four persons were immediately dismissed and the rest were publicly paraded and warned.⁵¹ Before the outbreak of the Gwalior Contingent at Gwalior there was a strong rumour that polluted flour and sugar had been received from Agra for consumption.⁵²

The causes narrated above were responsible for the growing anger of the people of Bundelkhand. Their grievances further aggravated because of the British declaration of the merger of the British Empire because of the 'Doctrine of Lapse'. Although Major Ellice political agent did his best to cool down the tension by forwarding the representation of Rani of Jhansi for the recognition of adopted child at every effort in this direction failed because Dalhousie had turned down the request. Thus the atmosphere was surcharged and the outbreak could have taken place at any time.

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Chapter - V

**Pinkaney's Eyes on the
Movement of Laxmi Bai
and Happenings
in Jhansi**

CHAPTER – V

Pinkaney's Eyes on the Movement of Laxmi Bai and Happenings in Jhansi

The revolt of 1857 in Bundelkhand first of all started at Jhansi and immediately after the entire region came under its grip. Aman Khan, a soldier posted in Jhansi cantonment informed Robert Hamilton that a servant or relation of someone of 12th infantry brought a chit from Delhi stating that the whole army of Bengal Presidency had mutinied and as the Regiment stationed at Jhansi had not done so-men comprising it were outcaste or had lost their faith.¹ This rumour caused immediate effect consequently a wing of Indian infantry, posted at Jhansi, suddenly took up arms against the British and joined the revolt of 1857.²

There were two forts in Jhansi- one in the town itself and the other in the cantonment known as 'Star Fort' (named after its shape), which also contained the magazine and the treasure chest.³ Captain Alexander Skene and Captain Francis Gordon were respectively the Superintendent and the Deputy Commissioner.

There was rumour that Laxman Rao, a retainer of the Rani of Jhansi and one Bhola Nath were in secret communication with some sepoys with the object of formenting trouble.⁴ Soon after the contacts of those agents had been rendered difficult by the alertness of the British officers.⁵ The agrieved Thakurs of the districts had also begun to contemplate rebellion.⁶

Immediately four sepoys⁷- Debi Singh, Naurang Singh, Jain Singh and Jaidin Singh prevailed upon the sepoys to revolt and to carry out their

resolution. It was arranged that an alarm would be raised that dacoits had attacked the Star Fort, with this alarm the force stationed at Jhansi Cantonment would start revolt.

Accordingly on June 5, 1857 at about 3 p.m., the noise was raised and a number of sepoy from the left wing of the 12th Native Infantry and twelve artillerymen seized the fortified magazine called Star Fort which contained post guns, ammunitions and about five lakhs of treasure. The authorities did not take any step to dislodge the mutineers. They were afraid that if a shot was fired; it would throw the rest of the sepoy into open revolt. The Star Fort was still held by about 50 men and two guns. No one was hurt upto this moment.

With a few exceptions almost all the Europeans and Anglo Indians proceeded to the Star Fort to place their families in safety.⁸ Soon after twelve sowars of the irregular cavalry reached the fort with the message from Captain Dunlop that only thirty five and not all the sepoy had mutinied. Express messages were sent to Gwalior and Kanpur for speedy assistance.⁹

The states of Samthar and Orchha were also approached for help, but no assistance appeared to be forthcoming. The British had to appeal to the Rani who was held in high esteem by the people and whom, 'they had so grossly wronged.' According to Manjha Pravas Captain Gordon and others called on the Rani and requested, "It seems certain that tomorrow the worst will happen to us. We suggest that you take charge of the kingdom and hold it, along with the adjoining territory, until British authority is re-established. We shall be eternally grateful if you will also protect our lives."¹⁰

T.A. Martin in his letter to Damoder Rao states that the Rani supplied the English with food for two days after they had taken shelter in the fort. She managed to send hundred matchlock men for their assistance. Thus began the revolt at Jhansi on June, 5, 1857.¹¹

Hugh Rose was Assigned the Task of Suppressing the Revolt of Jhansi and Bundelkhand and Adjoining Areas

As soon as the message of the great apprising was received to the British authorities the latter thought it proper to handover the charge of suppressing the revolt to Hugh Rose who had commanded great respect and honour by achieving victory in the Crimean War which ended in 1856. Since Rani of Jhansi was the key figure and therefore, the British decided to send General Hugh Rose especially to deal with the Rani of Jhansi.

The secret correspondence of Pinkaney who was the Superintendent of Jhansi Superintendency refers that¹² General Hugh Rose had proceeded towards Jhansi. First of all he had defeated the Raja of Shahgarh and the mutineers of the 52nd Bengal Native Infantry at the Muddanpur pass on 03rd, March 1858.

It is important to note that this letter of Pinkaney was posted to the British authority on 11th March 1858. In this letter he informed that after defeating the mutineers at Muddanpur pass on 3rd March Hugh Rose reached Banpur on 10th March. Muddanpur was the entry point towards Jhansi therefore; the mutineers had tried to block that passage but failed.

Pinkaney also refers in his letters¹³ that as soon as the army of Hugh Rose reached Banpur the Raja of this place vacated his residence and fort which were destroyed by the British. Mardan Singh of Banpur was also a brave fighter but it appears that he vacated the fort along with his army to avoid his direct concentration with the British soldiers. In fact he wanted to attack the British by adopting Gurreillah warfare.

Banpur Raja took shelter at Chanderi which was 40 miles west of Banpur. However, Chanderi was also besieged by the other Brigade of Hugh Rose. Pinkaney refers that he was in a position to hear the firing of both the sides. Then this secret letter reveals the contemporary situations of the movement of Hugh Rose and his army towards Jhansi enroute Muddanpur, Banpur and Lalitpur.

As far as the activities of revolutioneers assembled at Talbehat, Bansee and Chanderi Pinkaney refers that these places had been under the control of rebels. Rani of Tehree had furnished 500 men to garrison Banpur as mark of help to the British. Pinkaney indicates further on 11th March 1858 when he was dispatching this letter to the Secretary N.W. Provinces the rebels from Jhansi and Mauranipur had attacked the fort of Barwasagar. This attack was infact made to give lesson to Rani of Tehree for her act of betrayal of the national cause and they had besieged the fort of Orchha also.

While giving the day-to-day information in his secret dispatch Pinkaney informed the Secretary vide his letter No.48 of 1858¹⁴ that the fort of Chanderi which was under the control of rebels had fallen before Brigadier Stewart commanding I Brigade on 17th March 1858. Then after Hugh Rose marched to Jhansi on 21st March. Meanwhile the British army had

constructed some new works and heightened the town walls of Chanderi. As far as the activities regarding Rani Jhansi stands his letter reveals that the Rani of Jhansi had been residing in the fort and she had about 20 or 30 guns mounted on different works. He also informed that the rebel garrison had consisted of 300 or 400 vilaities and 5000 or 6000 Bundelas and Mewaties. These numbers were not very accurate but the figure was based on hearsay.

Meanwhile before the attack of Hugh Rose on Jhansi Rani had bricked up the city gate so that the fort could have been strengthened. Meanwhile Raja Banpur had gone to Charkhari. However, the state of Datia had assisted the British by sending 2000 or 3000 army men who were assigned the task of attacking on Jhansi on the border between that state and Datia¹⁵. This friendship of Datia state with the British is still lingered in the minds of the people as Datia 'Gale ka Haar'. In other words the state of Datia was most favoured one. The people in general were keeping aloof from the British. It indicates that the people of this region by totally against of the British policy of annexation of Jhansi state.

Attack on Jhansi

Pinkaney in his dispatch of 7th April 1858 had reported that when Hugh Rose was busy on attacking Jhansi the rebel leader Tantia Topee crossed the Betwa from Barwasagar. On the previous evening in order to divert the mind of British forces so that, the Rani of Jhansi could ber relieved from the pressure of the British forces. It was a wonderful venture because Hugh Rose at that time could have been sandwich between two opposing forces, one from the front and other from the rear. The second option left Hugh Rose was to lift the siege and retreat towards Sagar but it could have dire

consequences as the retreat could have been tremendous loss of the prestige of British army and a great moral victory for the rebel force.¹⁶

It is important to note that Tantia was accompanied by the other rebellious leader Mardan Singh, Raja Banpur and other leading rebels. Tantia's army had consisted of 27 guns, 2000 mutineers, 6 or 7 Bundelas and viliaties and a large body of cavalry.¹⁷

General Hugh Rose who was keeping an eye on the movements of Tantia's army hurriedly prepared to meet the new menace. He himself was ready to counter the enemy while a portion of the I Brigade was sent to take Tantia's force in flank should opportunity offer. Tantia's army opened fire at about 6 a.m. which was replied by the guns of the 2nd Brigade. Pinkaney writes that one of our guns was disabled early in the day by a shot from the enemy's artillery. It shows that the rebel army was determined to put damage on the foreign forces at any cost.

However, Tantia's army retreated to 3rd across the Betwa losing one gun. Probably it was done as mark of change of strategy because Tantia decided to adopt Guriella warfare. The rebel army continued firing but his cavalry never came fairly to the front. This hide and seek was in fact the part of strategies of the rebellious army so that the British could have been kept in dark. Pinkaney indicates that, 'from the extended country over which the action was fought. 14 miles long by 3 or 4 miles wide; it is impossible to say exactly what loss the enemy's suffer but I should think it certainly could not have been less than 600 or 700 killed.'

While describing Tantia's defeat Pinkaney again throws light in his above letter refers after suffering the defeat of the rebellious army fled into 2 bodies, one making for Kalpi and other for mauranipur.

If we analyse the very information as reflected in Pinkaney's letter we can very well think that Tantia Topee had started proceeding towards Jhansi with intention of providing help to Rani of Jhansi as she was surrounded by the British troops under the leadership of Hugh Rose. Of course Tantia's army was defeated at Barwasagar there is no room for doubt that the Rani of Jhansi got shy of relief from Tantia's movement towards Jhansi. No doubt Hugh Rose still kept up the seized and investment with part of his forces but even then the Rani of Jhansi found from valuable time to compensate the damage caused by the British troops.

However, the measure of relief provided by Tantia Topee could not survive for longer time and as soon as the rebellious army was defeated the British troops started assault on the town of Jhansi at 3 places, a false attack was also made near the Unnao Gate to the right of the three real ones. This false attack was made on 3rd April.¹⁸

The left assault was made to the Breach to the South of and near to the fort walls towards the Rani's palace in the town. Dr. Stuck was killed and three other British officers were wounded in this venture. The centre assault was carried out by 3rd Bombay Europeans but it too did not succeed by that time. The right attack too failed, going to the ladder breaking Lt. Dick¹⁹ and Nickel John succeeded in mounting to the top of the wall but they were killed.²⁰ The 3rd Bombay Europeans who had the main assaulting party suffered severe loss but going round to the centre attack also entered the town.

When the assaulting parties pressed on the town under a heavy street fire Lt. Col. Turnbull of the Bombay Artillery mortally wounded. The assaulting parties joined each other near the Rani's palace which was carried after a sharp resistance. Pinkaney reports that by evening time above half and the town in our possession and the enemy had only in its possession the fort and the North East of the town. The above letter describes the scene of battle which was going on inside the Jhansi town in these words-"During the fight in the town a large body of the enemy amounting to upwards of 400 broke out of the town and tried to make off in the North West direction but they were followed up by infantry, cavalry and artillery, surrounded on a hill and all killed. In this last affair Lt. Park of the Bombay infantry was killed.

On the 4th April ²¹ the remaining part of the town was also taken and the rebels who attempted to escape were cut up by the British forces." On the same night of 4th the Rani of Jhansi under a large body made a dash out of the fort but where driven back from direction they first took they charged their course got through the picket towards Bhandar. The Rani and her party were followed up by the British forces. Lt. Dowker who was following the Rani was beaten by the Rani's soldiers and cut down but his wounds were not dangerous.

When Rani left towards Bhandar the British soldiers took possession of the fort on 5th April' 1858. Meanwhile the remaining rebellious soldiers who were mostly the Rohillas took up the position out side the wall in a superb called 'Nai Basti'. They put up a brave resistance against the assaulting British troops but were entirely destroyed on 6th.

The resistance of Rohillas was so furious as several British officers and soldiers were killed and wounded. The rebellious army which was killed in this fears battle was about 3000 killed besides several guns were captured by the British. Pinkaney has given comparative chart of Europeans and native killed which is as follows:-

	European officers	Europeans	Natives	Total
Killed	06	34	15	55
Wounded	12	132	30	174

While analyzing the above letter of Pinkaney it appears that Tantia Topee did not plan his attack on Jhansi in a proper manner. His strategy was not as full proof as the strategy adopted by Gen. Hugh Rose against Rani of Jhansi. Moreover, Tantia failed to put pressure on the British army as it was expected by the soldiers of Rani who had been expecting some miracle.

In reality the failure of Tantia's attack proved fatal. With the result the natives received set back. On the other side Hugh Rose had attacked on Jhansi on scientific lines. He divided his assaulting party in three parts. The first party was instructed to attack on the palace of Jhansi towards the left side and centre of this assault was to 'Zar Pahar' which was the highest peak located on the left side of the Gwalior road.

Second party was known as centre assault party which succeeded on getting patience by breaking the boundry was of the fort on the back of the old bus stand which is known as 'Foota Chopra' and the third party was proceeding towards the right side. This strategy became successful and Hugh Rose achieved his mission.

As far as the fort of Jhansi is concerned it stands upon an elevated rock from the ground and commands the city. It is built of solid stone masonry and the fort not easy to devast and penetrate. The thickness of its walls vary from 16 to 20 feet. Its out works are also solidly built except for the West and some parts of the South, the fort is surrounded by the city on all sides. The town and fort was garrisoned by 14000 men composed of rebel soldiers foreign mercenaries and the Rani's troops. They were under the direct command of the Rani.²²

Hugh Rose commanding the newly formed Central India Field Force made a thorough inspection of the defences of the city before starting the assault.²³ He thought it proper that before any assault could be upon the fort of the city had to be captured first. The next day batteries were erected for 18 pounder guns and at other selected points.

On 25th March the British guns opened fire which was replied with equal ferocity by the Rani's forces. The heroic spirit of Rani was in full display. She could be seen among the troops inspiring and encouraging them for determined resistance.²⁴

When Hugh Rose was actively engaged in assaulting the city of Jhansi Tantia Topee attacked on the British army in order to give relief to the rebellious Rani. However, Hugh Rose who was the master of strategy took bold decision and resolved to take the offensive and challenge Tantia Topee. In fact Tantia was no match to the British superior General. The Maratha leader marched in disorderly manner. With the result his strong army of nearly 22,000 soldiers and with a large quantity of field guns received set back and he had to suffer defeat.

The defeat and flight of Tantia fell as a bombshell not only upon the Rani and her troops, but also upon the common people at large. After returning to Jhansi General Hugh Rose kept up a heavy fire and on the morning of 3rd April the British troops managed to enter the city and marched towards the Rani's palace.²⁵

The another noteworthy development which appeared in the above letter No. 122 dated 23rd April was the brave resistance of the natives and especially of Rohillas who had been in army of Laxmi Bai. The Rohillas put up a brave resistance against the British soldiers and they fought pitched battle against the enemy.

In spite of the fact that their leader had left Jhansi the Rohillas did not loose heart. It is because of their brave resistance that the large number of European officers and soldiers were killed. The people of Jhansi bore the brunt of the enemy's attack with a great courage. Jhansi was badly looted and the most natives who resisted were killed.²⁶ It is since then the memory of this loot has been ease lingered as Jhansi 'Gale Ki Fansi'.

Events following Upon the Departure of Rani from Jhansi

It has been reported by Pinkaney in his letter dated 23rd April'1858²⁷ that the Rani had left Jhansi towards Bhandar on 5th April but she was followed By Lt. Dowker and other British soldiers. Further Pinkaney informs that in order to deal with the rebellious queen, Hugh Rose marched from Jhansi on 26th April²⁸ towards Kalpi, leaving and adequate garrison for the protection of Jhansi. Perhaps he was informed by his spies that the

rebellious queen is in Kalpi along with Tantia Topee, Nawab of Banda and the other rebellious leaders.

Since the Kalpi had become the centre of the revolutionaries and therefore, Hugh Rose himself took the initiative to settle with the rebellious leaders assembled there.

Rani Laxmi Bai left Jhansi on 05th April and in spite of the fact as she was followed by the British troops on the way. She managed to reach Kalpi after covering 102 miles in 24 hours . On the following day the troops were paraded in the presence of Rani and Tantia Topee. Rao Saheb addressed the troops and ordered Tantia to lead them against the advancing British army.

Battle of Kalpi

It has been noted earlier²⁹ that Hugh Rose had started on 26th April in person to settle with the revolutionaries assembled at Kalpi.³⁰ Major Pinkaney informed the Secretary government N.W.P. on 28th May '58 that the 2nd Brigade force joined the 1st Brigade at Goolowli³¹. Meanwhile the mutineers and rebels from Kalpi made a slight attack on the right side of the British force along the ravines of Jamuna on 20th May but they were easily driven back.

On 22nd May the mutineers assembled at Kalpi made a very pronounced attack along the whole line and their infantry attacked on the right side of the British troops in the ravines with great ferocity. Pinkaney reported again in the very same letter³² that at about 1 p.m. the enemies were completely

driven out and they suffered heavy loss particularly in the ravines between the Goolawli river.

It is important to note that the rebels assembled at Kalpi were some disheartened but they were given impetus by the timely appearance of the Nawab of Banda with a force of 2000 cavalry, with guns and ammunition. The Nawab was highly impressed by the views of the Rani. Rebel troops who have scattered in different places came back to Kalpi.³³ The Rao Saheb after a council of war himself assumed the command of the forces.³⁴

The Kalpi fort was well protected on all sides with deep ravines and its rear was protected by the river Yamuna. The Rao Sahib after making elaborate different preparations expected Hugh Rose to follow a main road from Koonch.

Pinkaney further informs about the battle of Kalpi³⁵ that on the 23rd May Hugh Rose attacked Kalpi. His right chiefly composed of infantry moved along the ravines to the South of Jamuna and he with his left composed chiefly of cavalry and artillery and the rifle camel corps circled around to his left through Deopura and then advanced along the Banda road on Kalpi. He writes again that the enemy dispirited day mid out a feeble opposition and soon abandoned their position and devoured to fled by the Jalaun and Sherghar roads.³⁶ Hugh Rose sent his cavalry and artillery in pursuit and above 500 were killed and all their guns were taken. In the Kalpi fort immense quantity of ammunition and military force were found along with 18 pounder English guns.

In continuity of his description Pinkaney refers that 'the fugitives including the Rani, Banda Nawab etc now were in Indoorki on the Scind

river in Kuchwaghar where they have been joined by the mutineers of Shergarh and also by the Myapoore Raja the Nawab of Fattigarh etc with a small party.'

Moreover, it would be better to examine the happenings which were taking place in certain places of district Jhansi and Jalaun. We have noticed that the Hugh Rose had shattered the plans of the rebels by attacking Kalpi. No doubt the British had captured Kalpi fort which gave great moral boost to the British forces. In spite of the set back received at Kalpi Rani of Jhansi, Nawab of Banda and others did not lose their hearts and they planned future excursion for which the capture of Gwalior was the main motto.

As regards the development in Jhansi and Jalaun as reaction to the capture of Kalpi fort it has been reported in the same letter the Rais of Gursarai had captured Koonch for the British. The Gursarai chief was also directed to protect Jalaun from revolutionaries by sending a strong party.

The most noteworthy of the rebellious party of district Jalaun in those days was Burjor Singh who was determined to give a severe blow to the British. Burjor Singh was a rebellious leader of Belawa South East of Koonch. He had collected a large body of fighters who were directed to plunder the British possessions. He had created a great disorder in district Jalaun and the areas adjoining the Kalpi. The fourth para of this letter had mentioned it that the people in some parts, particularly round Kalpi had shown a strong feeling against the British.

Thus it is evident that the masses were determined to oppose the British rule in this region. In Jhansi district the reaction of the people after the

capture of Kalpi the reaction of the people was also very ferocious. The people of adjoining areas especially in between Jhansi district and Koonch had protested against the British under the leadership of Dabey Singh and Baldev Singh. They had collected a large body of followers who had attacked Moth on 23rd May and plundered the town , burnt down the tehsils and thanas and drove out Government officials. Captain Maclean also reported unfavourably on the state affairs of the district. By his letter No. 43 May 1858³⁷ under these circumstances Maclean had applied to Hugh Rose for troops to establish law and order.

Thus the happenings in Bundelkhand after the capture of Kalpi fort was alarming and Hugh Rose who had planned to go Bombay for rest became perturbed because of rebellious activities in the areas adjoining to Kalpi .

References

- (1) Foreign political consultations, No. 283, dated 30th Dec. 1859.
- (2) Joshi E.B. Jhansi Gazetteer 1965, page 56
- (3) Dr S.N. Sen. Sinha, The Revolt of 1857, page 71.
- (4) Bundelkhand Agency Records, , File No. 1 of 1857.
- (5) I bid.
- (6) Sinha, S.N., The Revolt of 1857, page 71.
- (7) Sinha, S.N., The Revolt of 1857, page 72.

(8) I bid.

(9) I bid.

(10) I bid.

(11) I bid.

(12) Letter no. 19 of 1858 page ,1, vide Appendix No. 1.

(13) I bid. Appendix No. 1

(14) Letter No. 20, page 3, vide Appendix No.2

(15) I bid.

(16) Letter No.83 Appendix No.3.

(17) I bid, Camp, Jhansi, dated 07 April, 1858 vide no. Appendix No.3.

(18) I bid, Appendix No.3.

(19) I bid Appendix No.3

(20) I bid Appendix No.3.

(21) I bid. Appendix No.3.

- (22) Rennick, M.S; A New Light Upon the History of Rani Laxmi Bai of Jhansi, I Ed. 2004 Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi- page 72.
- (23) I bid.
- (24) I bid.
- (25) I bid.
- (26) Letter No. 122, dated 23rd April, vide Appendix No. 4.
- (27) Letter No. 138, Appendix No. 5
- (28) I bid. Appendix No.5.
- (29) C.F. page No. 1.
- (30) Letter No. 196 vide Appendix No. 6.
- (31) 6 miles East of Kalpi.
- (32) I bid, Appendix No. 6.
- (33) Rennick , M.S; A New Light Upon the History of Rani Laxmi Bai of Jhansi, page No. 80.
- (34) I bid.
- (35) Letter No. 196, vide Appendix No. 6.

(36) I bid, Appendix No.6.

(37) I bid , referred in letter No. 196 of F.W. Pinkaney.

Chapter - VI

**Pinkaney's Narrative
of Jalaun**

Chapter No. 6

Pinkaney's Narrative of Jalaun

After the Battle of Kalpi the Rani along with Rao Sahib marched to Gopalpur, a place 46 miles South West of Gwalior. The Nawab of Banda and Tantia Tope also joined them at Gopalpur. Their condition was perilous indeed because they have lost the strong forts of Jhansi & Kalpi. It was cause of worry for them. Moreover, the army of revolutionary leaders demoralized. They thought that they would be overwhelmed by the pursuing British troops.

Of course in spite of set back received at Kalpi they had not lost the will to fight but infact they lacked resources at their command. At this critical juncture it was once again the shrewd and calculating Rani brought them out despair. Malleson gives full credit to the Rani for her wisdom and astute judgment Malleson² he states "the situation then seemed desperate to the rebel chieftain. But desperate situation suggests desperate remedies, and the remedy which on first inspection, might well seemed desperate, did occur to the fertile brain of one of the confederates. To which one its is certainly not known. But judging the leading group of confederates by there antecedents as Rao Sahib, the Nawab of Banda, Tantia Tope and the Rani of Jhansi, we may at once dismissed the first too from consideration. They possessed neither the character nor genius to conceive a plan so vast and so daring. Of the too remain we may dismiss Tantia Tope not that he was incapable of forming the design but we have his memories and in those he takes to himself no credit for the most successful at with which his career is associated. The fourth conspirates possessed the genius, the daring the despair necessary for the conceptions of great deeds³".

Thus it is clear that among the above revolutionary leaders it was the courage and wisdom of Rani of Jhansi which inspired them to fight the enemy tooth and nail and for this very purpose they were in search of a safe fort of Gwalior suited most for this purpose. The details as appears from the letter⁴ Pinkaney indicates that Hugh Rose had attacked Kalpi on 23rd May and after a feeble opposition the revolutionaries abandoned the fort and fled by the Jalaun at Shergarh roads .

The fugitives including the Rani, Banda Nawab first reached to Indoorki on the Scind river in Kachwaghar where they have been joined by the mutineer from Shergarh and also by the Mizoopur Raja and the Nawab of Fattigarh etc with the small party. It appears from this very letter that all of them very desperate and had no guns. Meanwhile, Major Roberts was ordered by Hugh Rose to observe them with his troops.

The above analysis throw light that the revolutionary party went to Indoorki and after that they assembled at Gopalpur where the Rani of Jhansi suggested them to move towards Gwalior to capture the fort. Tahamanker⁵ quoted the version of Rani which she stated to the revolutionary leaders as follows: -

“ Let us remember that through the history of the Marhatta kings they were victorious because of their possession of fortresses like Jhansi and Kalpi that enabled us to fight the British for so long. Unfortunately we have lost them, and we cannot make a fight without a strong fort . It is no use trying to run away: the enemy is sure to pursue & destroy us. We must capture a strong fortress and under its protection carry on our struggle till victory is won..... . I think we should march upon Gwalior and obtain the

help of the Maharaja & his army. With that fort in our hands we can still carry on the war and win victory”.

The revolutionary leaders marched on May 27, 1858 to Mahonah where a council of revolutionary was held to determine the future course⁶. In the end an order was issued to march next morning, the 28th May to cross Scindhia's frontier, the scind river to Amain⁷. In the morning, Rahim Ali Khan Kumone in Aligarh also joined the revolutionary party with 400 sowars and 400 matchlockmen from Bareilly⁸.

Tantia Topee was the mastermind behind the capture of Gwalior

Some noted stories suggest that the plan to capture Gwalior was conceived by Tantia Topee⁹. Sen and T.R. Holmes¹⁰ does not rule out Tantia whom he states did not lack either daring or originality. In Macpherson's view which was supported by Hamilton that it was Tantia who convinced Rao Sahib regarding the capture of Gwalior¹¹.

On the other hand leaders it appears that Tantia did not make even a single statement a playing any role in the deliberations of rebel leaders council which adopted the revolution to capture Gwalior. Tantia may not have been a consummate General; nevertheless, he was a man of matchless quality. He was an intelligent & shrewd and conversationalist, who had the gift of persuasion and forming combinations. He could create dissensions whenever it suited his purpose¹³. His relations were residing in Gwalior. He had earlier paid two visits to Gwalior, where his son-in-law lived and fully succeeded in luring the forces of Sciendhia to the rebel cause. It was due to his instigations that the soldiers of Gwalior regiment had fought against the

British in the Battle of Kalpi. Almost half of work was done and need was to win over the remaining forces a Gwalior state which were loyal to the Maharaja Scindhia.

Tantia was commissioned for this noble cause of winning over these troops to the rebel cause and therefore, he was sent in advance to do the needful this role was fulfilled by Tantia with a great skill.

As far as the atmosphere of Gwalior in those days it was in fluid state. The troops of Scindhia had been lying idle they were rather perplexed as to why there were not led to against British. In fact many of the soldiers and officers were quite sympathetic for rebel cause. Scindhia was instructed by the British political agent to keep the troops in good humour and promptly pay their salaries so they may not be influenced by mutiny. Tantia was in touch with the Scindhia's troops and thus he lost no time in contacting with militarian civil officers of Gwalior. In his scheme he was helped by his son-in-law who resided at Gwalior and the Police Commissioner who was the resident of Bithoor and well known to Tantia¹⁴.

The rebellious leaders Rani of Jhansi & Rao Sahib who were proceeding to Gwalior met Tantia Topee on 26th May at Burragaon, eight miles from Gwalior¹⁵ where they held a council to decide the future course. Meanwhile three British columns were conversing on them and on the fourth side was Scindhia of Gwalior. Being surrounded by the enemies Rao Sahib asked where they should go next. The Rani, in one version proposed advancing in Karrera but Tantia suggested that even Bundelkhand would be better. Rao Sahib was against of this proposal because he thought that the Bundelas who were hostile to us will create problem and moreover, there was no supply available to the rebel forces. Thus he suggested to go to

Deccan ¹⁶ . When the Rani decided to attack Gwalior fort and the idea became successful. The fort of Gwalior was captured and Scindhia fled to Agra ¹⁷ .

The victory was celebrated with great fanfare and grandeur , grand festivities and pompous celebrations were held. The armed forces who took part in this venture were given three month salaries along with two months gratuity . The Rao Sahib entered the Darbar Hall of Gwalior with the great honour and received salute of 101 guns¹⁸.

Major Pinkaney in his narrative of 1858 informed the Secretary to the Government on dated 05th June that "last night authentic intelligence was brought to me that the Jhansi Rani, Rao Sahib & other rebels have possessed themselves of Gwalior, its forts etc and the Scindhia has fled to Agra. Of course this news will have reached you long before you receive this letter. As yet the fact is not widely known, but once it is I am afraid that it will have a very unfavourable effect on this division and that the disorders in it will greatly increase¹⁹". However, the victory achieved in Gwalior did not last long. Hugh Rose who had cancelled his leave proceeded towards Gwalior with great determination to accomplish his task before the rains arrived. Thus he left Kalpi on 6 June and arrived in Morar Cantonment on 6th June.

Major Pinkaney in his letter had informed to Secretary of N.W.P. from his camp near Moth dated 6th June that Maj. Orr was directed by Hugh Rose to proceed with Hyderabad Contingent via Jhansi towards Gwalior²⁰. It appears from this narrative that after the departure of Maj. Orr Hyderabad Contingent Jhansi district would be without troops and thus the rebellious

activities would continue in between Betwa & Dhasan rivers with a great rapidity. It would have bad impact on the affairs of Bundelkhand.

Pinkaney also requested the Secretary of in that very letter, it would be better if Whitlock could spare a small light column on his arrival of Kalpi for the purpose of moving about the South of Jalaun & North of Jhansi. It would check the activities of rebellious Thakurs.²¹ As discussed earlier the region of Bundelkhand especially the country between Betwa and Dhasan comprising the three Tehsils of Garotha, Pandwaha & Mhow were more disturbed than any other part²². Infact this disturbance was the impact of the capture of Gwalior fort by Rani of Jhansi.

Hugh Rose in fact the master of strategy he attacked on the rebel forces at that time when they were completely unprepared. Rani of Jhansi attired in battle dress a commander took up the position to block the passage of Brigadier Smith who were marching upon Gwalior from the Agra road ²³. The rebels forces under the Rani poured deadly fire upon the British, However, in the thick of battle as fate had willed, the Rani did martyr's death which ended her heroic career²⁴.

Reaction of the Martyrdom of Rani Laxmi Bai & Fresh Flare up of the Revolt in Bundelkhand

With the martyrdom of Rani Laxmi Bai in Gwalior the leadership of the revolt really passed from the hand of the kings & the princely states to that of the people's leader. In fact there was great reaction of the death of Rani Jhansi. People in general remembered the heroic deeds and the spirit of struggle which the great Rani had preserved while fighting against the foreign rule. With the result the people started gathering and supporting

their leaders so that the revolution could continue in Bundelkhand and its rural areas. It was the demonstration of the real spirit of fight.

With the result the revolt in Bundelkhand did not come to an end with the death of Rani of Jhansi the people resisted against British rule and prolonged their struggle for a considerable time and even in some parts for several years.

In Jalaun and Hamirpur and in remote areas there was high resistance against the British rule. With the result Chanderi, Lalitpur, Koonch and Jalaun were reoccupied by the revolutionaries . Several leaders of note like Burjor Singh, Daulat Singh, Chattur Singh, Bakht Singh, Kashinath, Mansaram, Ranmast Singh & Desput & the most of others resisted the British authorities for a long pretty time and the British Government was at great pains to suppress their revolutionary activities. The immediate effect of the fall of Laxmi Bai was the rise of the revolutionary activities of Rajas of Banpur and Shahgarh. They became active again in their respective regions²⁵. Rao Sahib, Shahjada Firozshah and Tantia made further attempts to make Bundelkhand the field of their activities. Tantia Topee fought the British on Guerilla tactics which was adopted by the Marathas in Deccan against the Mughals.

The geographical atmosphere of Bundelkhand its ravines, jungles its hilly nature suited most to the Guerilla warfare. No doubt the British announced generous rewards for the capture of these notable leaders whose activities had become a source of great trouble to foreign rulers but this move could not gain popularity. Later on the matter was considered futile with the result the Lt. Governor gave up such offers²⁶.

Activities of Raja Mardan Singh of Banpur & Raja Bakht Bali of Sagar

Mardan Singh and Bakht Bali both were greatly aggrieved by the British authority and that is why they were deadly opposing the British rule. Both of them were the active leaders of the revolt of 1857 who actively cooperated the Rani of Jhansi and other leaders. After the fall of Laxmi Bai, Mardan Singh and Bakht Bali parted company with other revolutionary leaders before the action at Koonch proceeded to their territories to make common cause with their people who had against challenge the British supremacy in their regions²⁷. First of all they started dealing with the local chiefs who had been supporting the British and betraying the cause of national honour .

It is well known that the Raja of Gursarai who had occupied Kotra from the British side was driven away by the Raja of Madanpur and Shahgarh. Major Orr also failed to protect Kotra by maintaining the authority of Raja of Gursarai over it. With the result the Chief of Gursarai was forced to abandon Kotra.

Soon after the villages of Chanderi district came under the banner of Banpur Chief²⁸. The fort of Chanderi was recaptured on May 13, 1858. It was followed the reoccupation of Lalitpur and Talbehat 29 these victories Subbotage British prestige in that region.

Activities of Burjor Singh of Jalaun District:

Burjor Singh was the most prominent leaders of the district Jalaun who continued to resist the British power. Major Orr was ordered to suppress his activities with the result he attacked on Belawa on May 31, 1858 where Burjor Singh's 150 armed followers were killed but with the departure of Hugh Rose's force to Gwalior from Kalpi, Jalaun, Kuchwaghar once again Rose in revolt Koonch which was held by the chief of Gursarai was recaptured by the revolutionaries led by Burjor Singh and Daulat Singh.³⁰

Major Pinkaney in his narrative informed the Secretary from his camp at Kalpi on 28th May 1858 that the "Rais of Gursarai holds Koonch for us and I have directed him to send a party to Jalaun & protect that place also.

Burjor Singh of Belawa, South-East of Koonch, is at the head of a large body of plunderers and save near where the British forces are. The Jalaun district is in great disorder and the people in some parts, particularly round Kalpi, have shown a strong feeling against us. Thus it is clear that Burjor Singh and his followers had been very active in Jalaun district after Hugh Rose departure to Gwalior.

The activities of revolutionary leaders were not confined only to Jalaun district but in fact they had covered adjoining areas also. Major Pinkaney in the above letter has also mentioned that disorder had broken out in Jhansi district between Koonch and Jhansi. In fact Moth was much affected Dabey Singh and Baldev of Maiwai were also active in opposing the British like Burjor Singh they had also collected a large body of

followers and attacked Moth on 23rd May. Dabey Singh had plundered the town, burnt down the tehsils and thanas & drove out the government officials.

Under these circumstances Hugh Rose was directed to send troops to put down rebellious activities of these above chiefs. Major Pinkaney informed again that he himself was willing to accompanied and take the charge of the Jhansi district because captain Maclean had been appointed to Chanderi.

The disorder which had broken in Jalaun under the leadership of Burjor Singh of Belawa had caused great anxiety to the British mind. They were of the opinion that the immediate the suppression of Burjor Singh and his party was necessary to settle the affairs in Bundelkhand. Pinkaney while reporting the Secretary from his camp near Moth on dated 05th June referred that the surprise and punishment inflicted on Burjor's party at Belawa had a good effect. In the sense that the three influential Thakurs of Behat, Ameta and Baroda who had been previously with Burjor Singh had now crossed towards to the British side. Perhaps this treachery was committed by them on some allurements. It would have given wrong signal and rather discouraged the affected area but the above Thakurs did not command as much influence as Burjor Singh.

Thus their treachery was not of much significance. The territory of Jalaun bordering to Jhansi district was equally disturbed. Perhaps it was the impact of the activities of district Jalaun on Jhansi that his people had been actively resisting the British rule.

Pinkaney reported that in the very same letter of 5th June³³ that small bodies of rebels ranging from 200 to 1000 were moving about and plundering in every direction beyond the radius of 20 miles from Jhansi. The chief seat of disorder was the territory that lay between the Dhasan of Betwa river around Gursarai and Garotha. A large body of rebels said to amount to 1500 matchlock men and 200 horses who have crossed over from Raath are now attacking Gursarai Major Pinkany quoted the happening as follow :-

"We can hear their guns and Major Orr's force that shall accompany him will march tonight to attack and relieve Gursarai the Chief of which had lately afforded considerable support to the British Government." The people of Bundelkhand had been greatly annoyed with the chief of Gursarai because he had been supporting the British cause of strengthening the Empire in Bundelkhand. This anger of the people had inspired them to attack Gursarai. So that the chief could be given defeated reply.

Of his letter No. 252, dated 14th June³⁴ had referred the most disturbed condition of these three tehsils of Garotha, Pandwaha Mhow. He again refers that "A band of 300 infantry mutineers and about 400 Cavalry mutineers were beaten us from the Hamirpur district and to whom are joined about 1200 or 1500 rebels more about their plundering at their pleasure. From one end to the another, some around Gursarai were the chief of that place and Tehsildar Banda Ali hold their own," In this letter Pinkaney reported about Comparatively quiet situation about Jalaun district which was perhaps outcome was the betrayal of the chiefs of Behat, Baroda and Ameta who had recently joined the British camp. The chief of Gursarai was holding Koonch for the British with 500 men. He had also employed 100 men the protection of Jalaun. The forts of Kola & syadnagar on the Between which close the district roads from the disturbed parganas of

Garotha, Pandwaha, and Mhow to Jalaun had also been protected by 100 men of Gursarai chief.

Thus the over all picture of district Jalaun and territory between Betwa & Dhasan upto 14th June 1858 revealed the same picture of disturbance which had been continuing after the martyrdom of Rani of Jhansi.

The comparatively calm prevailed in Jalaun upto 23rd June Pinkaney in his letter of 23rd June 1858³⁵ referred that in Jalaun all was quiet upto the 21st June. Captain Ternan's last reports Burjor Singh of Belawa with a small party of followers was lurking about in the jungle and ravines near Duboh. Revenue was being collected but slowly. Captain Ternan has deemed it necessary to arrest Radha Bai of Sirsi because of her rebellious activities on the she was put under surveillance in Kalpi.

However in spite of a short interval the rebellious activities continued again Jalaun under the leadership of Burjor Singh this time the revolutionaries of Etawa had also crossed the boundary and entered into Jalaun. Pinkaney reported on 27th June 58³⁶ that "this morning I have also received an express from Captain Ternan, Deputy Commissioner of Jalaun stating that a considerable body of rebels and mutineer's, horse and foot have crossed the Jamuna near Jagmanpur into the Jalaun district from that of Etawa & that two other parties of rebels are near Duboh & Lahar. Captain Ternan is of opinion that Jalaun should be occupied by our troops, but there none to spare from Kalpi. I entirely concur with Captain Ternan regarding the propriety of our having a military post at Jalaun".

In fact Jalaun district was much disturbed, Burjor Singh who was previously lurking in ravines jungles of Daboh & near by areas appears to have in collision with revolutionaries of Etawa who had recently entered into Jalaun district. Burjor Singh and the recent arrival of revolutionary party would have acted in jointly to create anarchy in the district. More over Jalaun being in the center of the district and surrounded by turbulent and dissatisfied Thakur could have created trouble to the British. Pinkaney feared that an enemy once in possession in Jalaun could raise all the country round open direct communication with the rebels between the Dhasan and Betwa. And thus they would have caused great inconvenience to the British authorities the situation appeared to the more serious in light of Captain Ternan's inability to spare force to tackle the new menace.

As far as the availability of the troops from the neighboring district Pinkaney again informed in such that no troops are available in the Jhansi or Jalaun district for the operations against the rebels in the field.

As far as the situation of the civil authorities who had been directed to collect revenue and maintain law & order in Jalaun. The situation was changed because of the fresh rebellious activities Pinkaney informed that up to "this time the tehsil & thanedar have remained at their posts buoyed up by the hope of troops coming to put down the rebels in their neighbourhood and rebels have refrained from attacking them thinking that they have the example of the rebels between the Dhasan & Betwa before them and find that we do not more a man to the assistance of our promise and revenue posts, the dissatisfied population who are the majority will take part and the insurrection will rapidly spread unless a sufficient force be held ready & available to attack & disperse them".

Pinkaney reported further in the very same letter that our thanedar & tehsildar too will be disheartened & abandoned their forts, for all they have to support them all the followers of friendly Thakur's or troops furnished by native states, who are not to be depended upon for fighting have in many instances proved treacherous or cowards & who will probably make terms with the rebels should any difficulty occur like those at Mauranipur & surrender the government swords as the price of their safety.

The above letter refers the very grim situation of Jalaun which was no doubt the outcome of the rebellious activity of Burjor Singh and the recent arrival of the revolutionaries from Etawa. Thus new threat was so powerful that even the Deputy Commissioner Ternan and the authorities of adjoining district of Jhansi were equally disturbed. Pinkaney thought that if the revolutionaries were not suppressed in Jalaun and their activities continued without checked certainly the new atmosphere could create impact on Jhansi too.

With the result fresh outbreak appears possible in Jhansi district. No doubt a few Thakurs who had been previously with Burjor Singh had walked over to the British Camp but the British authorities were not sure about their loyalty. The foreign officers never relied on the loyalty of the native rather they thought they if the authorities loosened, the Thakurs who are with the Chief who are with the British side could have rejoined the main stream under this circumstances. Pinkaney worried about the new situation and requested immediate force for the suppression of the revolutionaries of Jalaun district.

Moreover, he had also apprehended that if a police battallion is raised in this division like sum other division then the even be enlist would be from

the same race as has the rebels and very often related to them and thus they would not be effective against the rebels.

On second July, 1858 Pinkaney stated further in his letter that the grave situation of Jalaun³⁷. He writes that the rebels from Kuchwaghar having being joined by a large body which crossed the Betwa from Mauranipur. They have collectively taken and plundered the last town of Koonch which was still in their possession. The rebels had driven out our Thanas along with 500 men placed by the Gursarai Chief.

It is worthwhile to mention here that rebels of Jalaun district had been carrying out their activities in collaboration with the rebel party of district Jhansi which had crossed Betwa from Mauranipur and reached Jalaun. This combined rebels had also appointed their out post between Koonch and Moth and their number was about 2000 men. Major Pinkaney reported to the higher authorities about the prevailing situation at Koonch. He had also applied to Col.Liddle, Commandant of Jhansi for military aid. With the result the latter had spare a small contingent at the disposal of Pinkaney. It was done chiefly to bring normalcy in between the areas of Moth & Jhansi.

Besides Pinkaney also written to the District Commissioner of Jalaun desiring military aid. Thus it would not be in proper to say that the situation of Jalaun were between from bad to worse day-by-day.

Further Activities of Burjor Singh and Daulat Singh

As we have seen earlier Burjor Singh of Belawa was the main figure behind the revolutionary activities in Jalaun. Major Pinkaney's narrative of 07th July 1858 which was reported from Moth³⁸ refer that of that day Burjor

Singh had possessed the control of Pahooj river, 13 miles west of Koonch and about 23 miles from the place (Moth) of Pinkaney's reporting.

The rebel leader had occupied and the small fort there and had made this country difficult on the basis of his followers numbering between to 1800 to 2000 men. The greater part of this force had left this division to join the Gwalior insurgents but subsequently returned to this area of this region. Burjor Singh was not alone who was providing leadership to the rebels.

But infact Daulat Singh of Indoorki was equally in commanding position. He had another large body of followers on whom assistance Daulat Singh plundered Kuchwaghar. He had the support of plunderers who had recently crossed from the Itawa district and thus he was plundering along the south bank of Jamuna. Besides Daulat Singh there were other rebellious chief who had also been very active in between Betwa and Dhasan rivers.

Pinkaney reported in the very same letter on 07th July that large part of the Mauranipur rebels had marched north ward and reached at Doonkouru, 10 miles East of Gurasarai. This party was led by the leaders like Desput and Chattur Singh. They number about 2000 matchlockmen.

Pinkaney again reported that a party of above 200 matchlockmen under Juggat Singh, which was at Bunare, 10 miles south of Gursarai intended to make a combined movement on Jalaun or Orai. Taking into consideration the combine strength of rebels Pinkaney feared that this Junglee tracts could be very difficult to be helpful to British army which was not in much number to suppress the rebellions in Jalaun district. He

had also drawn the attention of his government the necessity of establishing the permanent military detachment either at Jalaun or Koonch for the protection of the Western part of Jalaun. Jalaun which was in great disorder would have suited most. Since the Kalpi forces were busy in suppressing the revolutionaries in their own areas and thus they would not be spared for Jalaun. The situation in this part would deteriorate again.

As far as the position of Jhansi concerned about half of this area was held by the rebels. And thus no force could have been spared from Jhansi to Jalaun. With the result the rebels party was carrying out a petty warfare. The most important aspect of his fight was that the people of Bundelkhand thought that was war of liberation and therefore, the people greatly aided their support to the rebels.

Burjor Singh who had identified himself as the son of the soil had been fighting against the foreign forces with the great vigour. He had held Mhow on the Pahuj river along with 2000 matchlockmen and was successful in capturing two small forts in the neighborhood. Pinkaney reported on 15th July further that Burjor Singh had appointed his own Thanas and his collecting kists and force contributions. He had also forbidden cultivators in his neighbourhood to plough without first getting a patta from him.

Thus the rebel leader had virtually become the master of territory which lay between Betwa and Dhasan. Burjor Singh as seen earlier was successful in bringing about co-ordination between the revolutionary operating in Jalaun district those who were actively engaged in fighting against the foreign forces in between above rivers.

Daulat Singh of Indoorki was also a leader of eminence who was active in the neighborhood of Jalaun along with a party of 400 and 500 mutineers. He had four guns with him which were placed at Kanjoosa at the Junction of the Scind and Jamuna rivers. Pinkaney pointed out in the very same letter that our ally Gopal Pur Raja and the Thanedar of Lahar no doubt managed to defeat a party of plunderers from Gwalior but in reality it has no lasting effect on the conditions of Jalaun.

In short the South West of Jalaun district was in very disturbed state. As far as the rebellious activities of district Jhansi, it appears that the rebels under the Desput, Junoobaya, Chattur Singh and Bakht Singh of Alipura had been operating near Mauranipur. They had considerable force with them consisting of 8000 or 9000 men which included 300 mutineers infantry, 300 to 400 mutineers cavalry. They had two middle sized guns and six small guns with them. Juggat Singh and other revolutionary leaders who were at his village Busneru with 600 men and 500 insurgents were active at Pandwaha near Todi Fatehpur. Side by side Desput and the rebel leaders were active in this area. He had sent a party into the Hamirpur district a few days back.

The rebel party had threatened the Gursarai Chief who being afraid of, had withdrawn his forces from Mhow. In order to tackle this disturbed situation Col. Liddle ordered to send force from Jhansi so that the revolutionaries could be suppressed.

As late as 26th July Pinkaney reported the condition of Jalaun in his letter No. 115⁴⁰ that, "In Jalaun District the rebels are as numerous and in much the same position has shown in my last report. They have taken and plundered the last town of Madhoghar, Kuchwaghar and Yesterday I

received an express from Capt. Ternan, Deputy Commissioner of Jalaun asking me ' to move out at once to save Jalaun where the rebels are closing round it and I (Capt. Ternan) expect to here daily of their having sacked it. No troops can be sent from this (Kalpi)'.

Taking into consideration the above development of the state of affairs of Jalaun Pinkaney informed the Secretary, again that " Jalaun is 76 Miles from Jhansi out of the radius of operations of the Jhansi Brigade which has already enough on its hand in the neighbourhood of Jhansi. So I have told Capt. Ternan that no Military aid can be sent from this. As you are aware Jalaun is large wealthy town only 28 miles from Kalpi in which there are, I believe 400 of H.M's of 43rd Foot and 300 of the 19th Madras Natives Infantry and horse battery of 6 guns. To allow such a town to be taken almost close to such a force must have very bad effect on the people as they will naturally think we cannot protect them."

Thus the correspondence reveals that Captain Ternan was facing very grim situation. He was denied military help from Kalpi as well as from Jhansi. On the other hand the revolutionaries who had in large numbers had besieged the wealthy town of Madhov Ghar and Kuchwaghar were planning to set Jalaun and near by areas. If we examine the comparative situation then it appears that Jalaun was very badly under the threat of revolutionary leader who had challenged the British and declare their Raj in that area. Moreover, they had also been in co-ordination with the rebels party operating in between the Dhasan and Betwa rivers.

On 5th Aug. 1858 the further development which was noticed by Pinkaney about the rebellious activities of Jalaun district was referred in his letter⁴¹. This letter was in continuity of letter No, 115 dated 26th July, 1858

Pinkaney refers that the rebels under Burjor Singh had taken Koonch beating out the 500 Men of Gursarai Chief who had been helping the British forces and busy in protecting Koonch. However the Gursarai Chief was defeated. Burjor Singh had 2000 men, 2000 rebels and 200 rebellious infantry and some cavalry with him. The noteworthy aspect of this fight that Koonch which was captured by Burjor Singh was within 38 miles of Kalpi where they were about 400 of foot and 300 of the 19th Madras Native Infantry, a horse battery of the royal artillery was in operation but even then they did nothing to assist or protect Koonch.

It was most surprising aspect of the affairs of Jalaun. Certainly it would have posted the moral of the rebels troops. Pinkaney expressed his surprise as follows, "If our troops remain their inactive and allow the rebel to take and plunder with impunity places comparatively close to them the disturbed districts will never be reduced to order, as our friend will be afraid to exert themselves and Tehsildar and Thanedars will not hold out at isolated posts if left thus unsupported".

After the capture of Koonch nearly the whole of the western portion which was half of the Jalaun district was now besieged by the rebels who had gained and position to plunder and oppress those individuals who were loyal to the British. The next step the rebels were planning was to attack on Jalaun.

Forecast made by Pinkaney vide his letter No. 141, dated 05th Aug. of the attack of Jalaun proved true and on 10th Aug. Jalaun⁴² was taken by the rebels on 02nd Aug. However on hearing the approaching of the British detachment the rebels abandoned it immediately. Anyway the timely arrival of the British forces saved Jalaun. On 20th Aug. Pinkaney reported again

vide his letter No. 194 that the rebels troop⁴³ and partly plundered Jalaun on 08th Aug. and put to death the Thanedar but abandoned the place. The next on hearing the approach of detachment from Kalpi. Pinkaney refers that the furnished men who had been deputed by the different Thakurs for helping the British behaved badly. Some of them opened the gate and the greater part joined the rebels.

Thus it appears that no doubt some of the friendly Thakurs who had sent their men to support the British could not prove beneficial. The armed men supplied by these Thakurs rather sympathized the rebels and help them indirectly. It was another example of people's participation in freedom movement against the British.

Operation of Col.Liddle and Capt. Thompson for Suppression of the Revolutionaries

The situation of Jalaun as well as the adjoining areas had been worsening day-by-day. We have seen in earlier that the territory between Dhasan & Betwa was also equally under the grip of the revolutionary leaders. When the authorities of district Jalaun were busy in suppressing of Burjor Singh.

Col.Liddle and Capt Thompson were authorized to suppress the mutineers in between Dhasan and Betwa. Pinkaney wrote on 1st Sept., that⁴⁴ on 22nd Aug. Col.Liddle moved towards Mauranipur along with half of his force and he and Capt. Thompson were assigned the task of following the rebel leader of Gursarai with the strength of the reminder force of 14th Dragoons. Thompson reached Gursarai on 21st Aug. and while crossing Dhasan on 27th at Moti Katra planned to face the mutineers. He

found the country between Dhasan and Betwa with deep ravines which was impracticable for Cavalry and artillery. With the result both the officers Captain Thompson and Col.Liddle returned back.

Thus the operation of suppressing the rebellions became futile. Pinkaney in his above narrative had quoted that Captain Ashburner detachment was at Samthar yesterday; he had attempted to surprise Burjor Singh at Kelia but the rebel leader got information through his spy with the result he got enough time to retreat to Mhow Mahoni where the ground was so difficult that Ashburner found it very difficult to follow. Meanwhile, the Tehree troops which had been posted in Mauranipur for suppression of the revolt from the British side did not co-operate the foreign rule whole heartedly rather the troops started a plundering inhabitants on the roads in the most shameless manner. In reality the soldiers of Tehree were from this area where many of his relatives Kith & Kin were in open revolt areas against the British. Therefore, these troops did not find suppress the revolutionary activities in which their relatives were engaged. It again shows the feeling of patriotism which pressed the soldiers of Tehree to support the British cause in Bundelkhand.

In Jalaun Brigadier Macduff was also authorized for suppressing the rebellious activities. He reached Orai on 28th August from where he proceeded to Jalaun on 30th Aug. Jalaun was reported to have been threatened to be attacked from rebels and mutineers at Golum. Col Turnon also supported that some police men have been killed at Churkhi⁴⁵, where about 1000 or 1500 rebels had been active.

The most striking feature was that a garrison of Rampur Raja's matchlockmen who were posted there opposed the mutineers at first but on

the latter when the sepoys informed the Rampur Raja's forces that they were fighting for the protection of religion and calling on Rampur's men in the name of religion to join them. The Raja's men gave up the fort and joined the sepoys. Thus the religious ideas has really still to do with insurrection amongst the people.

Thus the analysis of the above letter reveals that the troops of the native rulers which were appointed to suppress the rebellion and helping the British for maintaining law and order did not co-operate the foreign rule. Besides the religious tie with the mutineer sepoy, they considered British as a foreigner. Therefore the patriotic feeling inspired the soldiers of the native states to refrain from the activities of suppressing the revolt.

On 04th Sept.⁴⁶ Ashburner found opportunity on attacking Burjor Singh on Mhow Mohoni in which 40 of his men were killed this blow struck by Ashburner was very important because it had quite broken up Burjor Singh's party. It was the first effective assault of the British which had damaged Burjor Singh. On the other hand Brigadier Macduff had also defeated the rebels near Jalaun killing about 100 of them. One of their guns was also captured. It too proved disastrous.

Pinkaney reported on 24th Sept.⁴⁷ from his Tori Fatehpur camp that Ashburner was at Duboh on 12th Sept. Meanwhile Burjor Singh reappeared at Koonch. It appears that Burjor Singh was becoming powerless day-by-day because of the British assault. It is also evident from Pinkaney's narrative that the rebels ⁴⁸ have mostly disappeared in Jalaun and the crops through the district were very fine. With the result Brigadier Macduff returned to Kalpi with the greater part of his force.

Naddygaon People's Cooperation to the Rebels

The rebellious activities of the rebel leaders of Bundelkhand had been increasing because of the support and cooperation which they had been receiving from the local people. As we have seen earlier also that the inhabitants of Bundelkhand had been sympathized to the rebels because they were the sons of the soil.

Moreover, they were opposing the alien rule & their ill designed policies. In this context, it would be worthy to mention here in spite of the fact that the power of Burjor Singh had been declying because of the heavy pressure of the British soldiers and guns. Even then he was carrying out his activities by hide & seek. The rebellious Chief had no doubt adopted the Gureilla tactics of warfare.

It is evident from Captain Ternan's report which says that "I bring to your notice the protection and ready assistance always given by the Nuddygaon people to rebels of this district. Were it not indeed for such assistance Burjor Singh and his gang must have been destroyed long ago. Capt. Ashburner who was lately in command of a field detachment from Jhansi in the neighborhood of Mhow Mohoni on the Pahuj River made similar complaints regarding both the Nuddygaon and Samthar people. I have also written to Sir Hamilton on this subject."

Thus, on the basis of the peoples cooperation the rebels leaders were continuing their activities in spite of the heavy pressure of the British forces. As late as 13th Nov. Pinkaney informed to the Govt. of N. W. P that the western part of Jalaun district was still disturbed. It is further evident by

the reporting of 20th Nov⁴⁹ that in the west of Jalaun district Burjor Singh and Daulat Singh were in full activity & latter had lately murdered some bankers against whom he had enmity. Brigadier Macduff was appointed for their suppression of the rebellious leaders.

The combined efforts of Napier & Macduff Burjor Singh fled from Kachwaghar to the ravines at the junction of Betwa and Dhasan. He had 200 of his followers who had taken shelter in these ravines⁵⁰. In order to face the new trouble Devis Divisional Police Commander was requested to send European officers to take command of the police between the area of the above rivers until Burjor Singh was disposed off⁵¹.

Pinkaney reported that Daulat Singh; Roop Singh and Burjor Singh were at the head of the armed plundering in Kachwaghar and the neighboring westerly parganas of Jalaun. However, Captain Mc. Mahan of 14th Dragoons were dispatched by Napier from Gwalior for the suppression of above rebellious chiefs who succeeded in cutting up some 50 of Daulat on 15th Nov. When Mac Mohan was fighting with Daulat Singh's men, Major Syngé with the detachment from Jalaun some military police had driven Burjor Singh into the ravines⁵².

Assistance Provided to the Rebellious Chief by the State of Datia & Samthar

The rulers of the princely state had been helping the British Raj for maintaining peace and order at the time of the great revolt of 1857. But some states of Bundelkhand especially Datia and Samathar had been

providing aid to these revolutionary leader who had been fighting to uproot the British Raj from Bundelkhand. Since these states had concluded treaties to this effect to the British. Therefore, it was binding on them to support the British troops. But certainly their sympathies with the rebels and their followers because the people of the states had been related to be rebels directly or indirectly. Moreover, the inhabitants of the states like the rest of the Bundelkhand had been against the British rule in their heart to heart.

In these circumstances the people who were under the control of the Rajas and in Maharajas helped the revolutionaries by providing them arms, ammunitions and supplies⁵³. It is worthy to mention here that Captain Ternan, Deputy Commissioner of Gwalior in his weekly report dated 24th Nov. had stated that the rebels forming the above band were chiefly men of Samthar and Datia states from which they received arms and supplies etc. The nephew of Seonda Quilledars (Datia) was killed in fighting against the British troops on 12th November.

Ternan had brought this development to the notice of Hamilton who had issued stringent order to the above state on this matter⁵⁴. The rest of the territories between Jalaun and Pahuj river was peaceful.

As far as the rebels activities of the Jhansi district it was almost quiet except Garotha where Burjor Singh was hiding after being driven out from Jalaun. He fled to Hamirpur and then again into the territory of Jhansi where he plundered one or two villager between Betwa And Dhasan. Pinkaney referred in that letter "when I last heard of this rebel he was in the hills of Bhusneo 8 miles South of Gursarai. Capt. Clark, Deputy commissioner and Major Devis were in pursuit of him with the military police."

Judging the above activities of Burjor Singh. It is quite clear that this rebellious leader was completely following the Gourilla warfare. He never stayed at a particular place and never faced with the British army openly. Fact that Burjor Singh was well known aware about his resources and military strength. Even then he fought his the adversary quite well. But he knew his last result that with limited resource were not sufficient to fight the mighty British. However he was determined to fight with the enemy till the last drop of his blood.

That is why in spite of the heavy odds from all the side he did not lack behind in putting pressure on the British. Pinkaney reported in his letter on dated 10th Dec. that Jalaun was in much the same condition. Major Synge was lately at Jalaunee Boozoorg on the north of the Betwa near where it joins the Dhasan. Major Synge was instructed to watch was Burjor Singh's movement. On 07th Dec. Brigadier Macduff reported that "a large body of rebels were making for Bundelhand where the latter officer has now concentrated his whole disposable force at Orai". This letter shows that activities of Burjor Singh was continuing. However Banda Ali Tehsildar had also attacked Burjor Singh who was firing near Bhusneo with the help of the military police from Garotha. With the result the rebel leaders were driven across the Betwa into the Samthar and the Datia States where they dispersed for a time.

Burjor Singh who was hiding from here to there entered Jalaun District from Datia on October, 10, 1859 where he plundered and burnt village, Burra and again retired to Datia. Since he stayed in Datia along with his men a fine was imposed upon the state by Hamilton, the agent to the Governor General⁵⁶.

To sum up it can be said that the Burjor Singh and the other rebellious leaders maintained their struggle for a quite long time in spite of vigorous steps taken by the British authorities. No doubt they were hunted from pillar to post by British Civil and Military authorities from one district to another & when hard pressed they too take refuge in neighboring states where they recruited fresh followers and collected supplies and ammunition. When opportunity offered they made fresh raids into the British territory. As late as by the end of 1859 peace had been restored in Jhansi, Banda and Jalaun District.

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Chapter - VII

Pinkaney's Reporting

of the District of

Hamirpur

Pinkaney's Reporting of the District of Hamirpur

With the outbreak of the revolt in Jhansi the entire region of Bundelkhand came under its grip. The district of Hamirpur was also greatly affected. Lloyd, who was the magistrate of Hamirpur¹ sent letters for assistance to the Rajas of Charkari, Beri & the The Nawab of Baoni . It is well known fact that the kings & Nawabs of the native states of Bundelkhand had been helping the British at that critical moment as soon as the message of the Lloyd was received the Rajas of Charkari, Beri, The Nawab of Baoni sent hurriedly 100 men & a gun from each Lloyd doubled the security of the jail by appointing police guards. As far as the revolutionary activities in Bundelkhand it appears that its current had become low by October 1858.

With the martyrdom of Rani Laxmi Bai on 17th June the people were in great surprise. With the result they were chalking out ways & means to continue the struggle for freedom & that is why the revolutionary activities had become dim for time being. Rao Sahib, Tantia Topee & other leaders who had been the key supporter of the Rani of Jhansi were moving here & there in search of shelter. Meanwhile Mardan Singh of Banpur & Bakht Ali of Shahgarh being pressed in contemporary circumstances, surrendered to the British². The British queen announced General Amnesty on Nov 1, 1858³ but it did not make receive desired response from the revolutionaries. Therefore, the revolutionaries continued their activities as before. The current revolutionary activity had become a bit low in the district of Jhansi, Jalaun & Banda because most of leaders had retired in the neighbouring states of Gwalior & Datia.

In Hamirpur the situation was almost different. It is evident from the report of Freeling, Deputy Commissioner of Hamirpur which was sent on 18th March 1858, In spite of the fact that the revolt had been crushed. But the current of the revolutionary activities were still is going in Hamirpur where in towns like Jaitpur the revolutionaries were organising⁴.

About the reaction of General Amnesty in 'The Bombay standard,' newspaper commented. "The rebels in Bundelkhand appear cursed with a disbelief of virtue in human nature & cannot conceive such a forgiving spirit as our Gracious Queen breathes in her amnesty to her rebellious subjects. Desput, the leader on receiving the Proclamation deliberately put it into his pipe & smoked it, by which he set fire to his own beard, as my respected friend of the secret intelligence department observed. But worse occurred at the village of Kul-pahar, under the joint noses of the General, two civilians & a Deputy, eight men at arms proceeded thither to read her Majesty's proclamation, the rebels slew seven out of the eight, and the other they most fearfully wounded. Such was the blood answer these mosters designed to give"⁵. The struggle of freedom in Hamirpur district was led by Dewan Desput, Bakht Singh and Omrao Khangar.

Dewan Desput

Desput was the prominent revolutionary leader of district Hamirpur. He was related to the lapsed state of Jaitpur. Its ruler Keshar Singh was granted sunnad by the British in 1812 & according to his provisions he was recognized as the king of the state⁶. However, after his death Parikshit succeeded on the throne. But he too died in 1849 leaving his widow the queen who was a claimant on the throne.

As per the Doctrine of Lapse the widow queen was not allowed to succeed the state was declared a British possession. The widow queen was granted a monthly pension of rupees 1200⁷. The queen & the inhabitants of the earstwhile Jaitpur state became dissatisfied because of the unpleasant behaviour of the British rule. With the result the queen started consultations with his prominent chiefs so that the state could have been given back to her.

Desput was one of the prominent chiefs of Jaitpur state who took inactive in collecting the other chiefs & prepared the ground for the revolt. Tantia Topee who had invaded Charkhari state in February, 1858 was also assisted by Dewan Desput. Infact Desput had taken active part in attacking Charkhari state because the state of Charkhari being a British ally had been actually supporting the British in suppressing the revolt⁸. When Charkhari was being attacked the British administration from the district Hamirpur had become paralysed & virtually there was no government at that time in Hamirpur. Taking advantage of the disturbed situation, the Maratha chief of Gursarai besieged the Jalalpur town. Meanwhile the rebellious Nawab of Banda who had also captured Mahoba & Maudha from the British possession⁹. The opportunity was availed by the widow queen of Jaitpur who along with Desput & his followers took possession of Jaitput & declared her independence. Side by side she besieged the Government treasury also. This expedition was led by Desput¹⁰. Since then the Bundela Chief & Jaitpur had been fighting against the British.

Pinkaney reported on 16th May that Hamirpur was occupied by 1000 mutineers.¹¹ On 28th May he informed again that Hamirpur was reoccupied by the British force. In the beginning a large portion of the district captured

by the Raja of Charkhari on behalf of the British.¹² The Charkhari troops had looted the a revolutionary force which was being commanded by Martand Rao, Tantia Topee.¹³ Martand Rao, Tantia Topee was killed in this action & subsequently his head was sent by the Raja to the British authorities¹⁴. (All the 3 letters of Pinkaney reported the same position in which there was no change of the situation of Hamirpur district).

On the whole the position of the British' could not to be said satisfactory. It was very difficult to control the situation. They could not even get levies for the police on the bordering states¹⁵. Pinkaney, Commissioner of Jhansi division observed "That now the enemy's armies have been located & dispersed, the insurrection will never be put down in this part of the country by large columns of troops. What is wanted are 2 or 3 small light columns under active officers, like Major Orr's Haiderabad column no where moving about the country accompanied by civil officers to point out to the commanding officers who are & who are not friends to government to collect information for him regarding the position of the rebel bands & to open negotiations with the insurgents when beaten."¹⁶

However, the situation of Hamirpur district as evident from Pinkaney's letter reveals¹⁷ that although the district was reoccupied by Freeling, Deputy Commissioner but till that date no communication was available which could put light on the prevailing circumstances. It appears that the district was under the control of the revolutionaries. But after some time it was recaptured by the British. The Deputy Commissioner Freeling was not able to inform any change in the situation by 7th July.

The letter of Pinkaney dated 2nd July refers that a party of rebels from Mau have made an incursion indirection of Raath¹⁸. It can be presumed that the Desput & his party which were actively engaged in revolutionary

activities in Jaitpur had been in position to enter into the Hamirpur district boundaries through Mauranipur by reaching Raath they could have created great disorder.

Situation of Jaitpur, Mahoba & Panwarie

The disturbance in Hamirpur started on 14th June 1857. In the beginning the centre of the activity was Hamirpur itself. But subsequently revolt took the shape of people's movement in which the inhabitants took active part. The South East part of the district was much disturbed which included the parganas of Mahoba, Charkhari, Jaitpur, Raath & Panwarie. As soon as the revolt broke out in Hamirpur town the Subedar Ali Baksh declared the rule of the Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah in Hamirpur on 20th June 1857. Subsequently the movement spread over in the rural areas where it contained till 1859¹⁹.

The inhabitants of Jaitpur, Panwarie and Mahoba had been very active where the revolutionaries assembled in large numbers & actively challenged the British authority. As noted earlier Dewan Desput, Umrao Khangar & Kunwar Bakht Singh were the most prominent leaders. They not only looted the Government offices but also destroyed the Govt. property besides threatening the European officers.²⁰ As soon as Hamirpur came under the grip of revolutionaries the Deputy Collector Wahid Udjama tried to maintain the law & order but he could not be successful. Meanwhile the some mutineers from Kanpur also reached there. They declared the Govt. of Nana Sahib who was authorized to govern the area in the name of Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah²¹. After some time the revolutionaries left some of their followers in Hamirpur and the rest proceeded towards Charkhari & Mahoba.

In Mahoba the situation was miserable because the revolutionaries of Banda had entered into Mahoba town & started terrorising the English officers. The Assistant Magistrate of Mahoba was so frightened that he left to Charkarhi for shelter. When the king Ratan Singh of Charkhari was asked to send some forces for protecting Mahoba he showed inability. In these circumstances, Koorne, the Assistant Magistrate of the state reached to Charkhari immediately under the garment in garve of villager. As soon as Kooneru left Mahoba the revolutionaries hosted the Maratha flag in Mahoba declared the rule of Peshwa.²²

In Jaitpur the struggle continued even at the time when it had almost ended in the other parts of country. The widow queen of Jaitpur had declared the independence. With the result the British officers posted there fled to Ajaygarh. The Rani who was later pressed by the Charkhari forces took shelter in Tikamghar state. The revolutionary leaders Desput, Umrao Khangar and Bakht Singh had been hiding near by Jungles and dangs and of started attacking the British territories from time to time.

By the beginning of 1859 when the revolutionaries of Jhansi of Jalaun had become quiet for time being in Hamirpur the revolutionaries continued to be active. In southern portion of Hamirpur district which remained in a disturbed condition about 1000 as and 1500 matchlockmen were reported to have assembled in the village of Bugora and Aree under Chhatur Singh, Bakht Singh & Umrao Singh²³. Desput who commanded the great influence in the region for sometimes in Jaitpur and some times in Chattharpur and other neighboring state. In Chanderi district Rao Hamir Singh of Pali, the Nanikpur Thakur & Debi Singh with some other leaders still held out with their numerous followers. Their main army was at Balabehat²⁴.

As early as Aug. 1848 Major Pinkaney referred in his correspondence No. 194 which is based on "Freeling's report refers that the Parganas of Jaitpur, Mahoba & Panwarie all occupied by rebels under Desput and Chattur Singh who murder, Plunder, extort money at their pleasures. As stated they have now taken Raath unless troops be sent to the southern part of the district Hamirpur tranquility will not be restored as Desput has great influence there Hamirpur." ²⁵

After about 10 days of his previous reporting Major Pinkaney described the situation of Hamirpur again in his letter dated 1st Sept. 58. This letter reveals the very sordid picture Pinkaney says that "the report of rebels having taken Raath a having put to death the thanedar & Kanoongoo mentioned in my last letter turns out to be corrected. As stated above they have now left it & are in parties along the Dhasan.

A company of Madras Infantry, was sent to hold Maudla at Mr. Freeling's urgent requisition²⁶". In continuity of that very letter Pinkaney again mentioned that the South Jaitpur was abandoned by the British & Mahoba was also in very unsatisfactory condition where many villages had turned out all their armed men against the British. The situation of Panwarie paragana was also quite disorganized. Although the Chanderi troops are posted 10 miles east of Raath but they were not in position to do anything. General Whitlock who had left Banda on 18th August for Charkhari but he had not arrived there. No doubt the atmosphere of the southern parganas of district Hamirpur was very surcharged of where the people were in great anger and thus they were determined to over throw the²⁷ British rule at any cost. This reporting of 1st Sept. was again confirmed the letter dated 11th Sept 1858.

In the 5th para of this report Pinkaney intimated that in Hamirpur district the rebels were active in the village along the East Bank of the Dhasan from Mugrand to near Behat. They were plundering all the country in their neighborhood. General Whitlock who was controlling the affairs at Mahoba reported on 4th Sept. about this plunder.²⁸ Pinkaney quoting Freeling, wrote that "I hear from Mr. Freeling that Brigadier Munrey was a Kundhowle, 14th miles East of Raath on the 19th Sept. which latter place he would reach on the 21st Sept. Major General Whitlock was at Charkhari on the 19th Brigadier Munrey was to march via Tala Rawat & Nagra to Panwarie where he was to join Major General Whitlock from Charkhari. The Desput and Bakht Singh were at Tala Rawat, 10 miles North West of Jaitpur. Two days ago 2000 men & 2 guns of the Charkhari Raja were at Koolpahar 8 miles North East of Jaitpur. Acting Maj. General Whitlock joined with Brigadier Munrey at Panwarie will leave the South of the Hamirpur district uncovered save by the Charkhari troops. These rebels will probably go to Jeejhun, 12 miles South of Jaitpur ; it is also reported that is their intention to go the Shahgarh district. Inconsequence of Brig. Munrey's presence at Raath, the North & center of Hamirpur district are now free from rebels."

It appears from the above letter that the British military officers had been concentrating on Charkhari, Raath, Panwari & in nearby areas to settle with the rebel chief finally. It is also evident that taking into notice of the presence of the British Military officers & their troops the rebels started hiding out in the neighboring territories of native states. It was the same tactics of Guerilla warfare which the rebels under Burjor Singh had been adopting in Jalaun. Letter No. 344, which was written from camp²⁹ Raath further throw light on the movement of British officers in search of the

revolutionary chiefs. In its 4th para Pinkaney writes that Brigadier Munrey had been in camping at Raath with about 300 men but was leaving tomorrow to join Major General Whitlock at Nowgaon. The Desput & the greater part of the rebels of Hamirpur district are now busy in creating disorder in the neighbourhood of the Chatturpur.

It is because of the concerted active military operations undertaken from Banda & the presence of the detachment of the troops in the district there was comparatively calm in the southern parganas of Hamirpur. But even then the people who had become so bold that they were not settling down. Tehsils & Thanas could not be reestablished unless detachment of troop was available at different points in the district. Thus in spite of the presence of a large number of British troops the southern portion of Hamirpur district could not be settled. As far as the affairs of Jalaun & Hamirpur district on 13th October it was reported to be almost the same as by the time of the last reporting³⁰.

Moreover, Pinkaney informed that the affairs of the Jhansi district³¹ had become quiet by that time. But on 18th Oct. as per the intelligence received by Turner, commanding the military police in the Garotha and Pandwaha paraganas indicate that part of Bakht Singh's party of rebels had crossed the Dhasan from the Hamirpur district & they plundering Sajanee. Turner was informed at that place that the rebels had left & gone to Lachoor on the west bank of Dhasan. Thus he pushed on & marched to Lachoor at 4 P.M. & attacked the rebels whose number was about 400 matchlockmen. In that action 21 rebels were killed & the rest were driven over the Dhasan river (where 11 were drowned) into the Hamirpur district. Their total loss was of 32. Pinkaney expected that this happening would encouraged the moral of the British troops.

He reported again that Gen. Whitlock's force which was busy in settling the affairs of the southern part of district Hamirpur had marched towards Shahgarh leaving this disturbed portion without force with the result the southern part again became very disturbed. It is because of the beginning of a new group of rebels whose leader was Om Rao Khangar who had started up recently & was doing much harm to the British. This new group of the rebels had become the cause of trouble for the British forces.

While referring the report of failing of 23rd October Pinkaney informed the Secretary of N.W. Provinces regarding the latest development of the Hamirpur district about the activities of rebels. He refers that the district Hamirpur was making steady progress³². The Tehsildar of Paragana Panwarie who had abandoned Raath had returned to it on 22nd Oct. In this very letter it is also reported that the rebels had attacked a town of Sumera but the Tehsildar held out in the fort & the rebels ultimately retired.

However, the condition of Jaitpur paragana was almost the same where the disorder still continued. It is expected that the presence of General Whitlock and Brigadier Munrey would improved the situation. If these officers continued operation against the rebels. This letter reveals that where the other parganas were returning to normalcy, Jaitpur was in disturbed state as before.

Therefore, Pinkaney had no option but to direct Major Davis to send the Military assistance. In compliance with above order Davis sent a troop of police, sowars & also a company of 100 Foot Police with 50 muskets. These forces assisted Freeling in making the district calm & quiet. On 20th

November³³ while informing the secretary, N.W.P. Pinkaney wrote that no doubt General Whitlock was at Jaitpur with his force but even then there were various bands of rebels in activity in that paragana. Whitlock had recommended that if the state of affair was to be settled then the establishment of the permanent military post at Raath as well as Jaitpur were necessary so that the police could suppress rebellions on the basis of the support rendered by these posts.

However, in spite of the sufficient ³⁴ military forces the situation could not be controlled as Desput prominent revolutionary leader was hiding out in the jungles of Irengarh along with a large band of rebels. Under those circumstances both Whitlock and Freeling moved diplomatically to ruin the backbone of revolutionaries. With the result both the English officers appealed the revolutionary leaders to surrender. Both of them assured the rebellious leaders that after surrender their application would be recommended to the government for pardon. However except the southern parganas the rest parts of the district was returning to normalcy.

Desput & Zalim Singh's violent activities

Desput, a Bundela Chief of Jaitpur had been playing a vital role against the British rule in the district of Hamirpur. Meanwhile northern revolutionary leader Zalim Singh had also become active. It becomes evident that both the leader³⁵ had become violent by the end of Nov. 1858. Probably it is because of putting heavy pressure on the British that they had resorted to such a violent action. Pinkaney informs that "On the 26th November a party of rebels under Desput belonging to Zalim Singh's band seized of carried of nine government chaprasies as they were proclaiming the amnesty and collecting revenue in the villages of Seawan only, 6 miles

from Brigadier Munrey's Camp. The next day one of the chaprasi came into camp with the information that the other had been hacked to pieces with swords." It shows that the revolutionaries had been determined to fight to finish the British rule.

Burjor Singh was attacked at Tala Kungaon

Kungaon was about 18 miles from Raath where the rebellious leader Burjor singh of Jalaun had been carrying out his activities in coordination with the revolutionaries Hamirpur. As soon as the information to this effect received Capt. Hillary field detachment attacked Burjor on 4th December. He was assisted by Captain Sawers along with 2 guns. 26 European artillery, 65 R.F. of 43rd Foot, 110 R.F. of 50 Madras Native Infantry. A detachment of Hamirpur police was also assisting them. Burjor Singh was attacked at Tola Kungaon where he was hiding there with 300 Foot & 50 horses.

The revolutionary chief surrounded by the enemies fled across the Dhasan towards the Kakerbai in the Garotha pargana of Zila Jhansi. Some of the rebel's baggage was taken possession by the British and some horses of Burjor were also killed in this battle. Pinkaney could not assess the quantity of loss the rebels suffered.

Chattur Singh & Bakht Singh took shelter in Jungles

The other revolutionary leaders who were also active in this district were Chattur Singh & Bakht Singh. Both of them were also commanding the support & cooperation of the local people. When Captain Hillary was busy on attacking Burjor on 4th December the same day Brigadier Munrey sent a detachment of the 12th lancers along with 2 guns & a few of the 3rd Bengal Cavalry under Col. Oakes to Kasheepoora & Lachoor. This force was sent on the request of Freeling who had information that the rebels under Chattur & Bakht Singh³⁶ had been active in those areas. On reaching the spot the British officer found that both the leaders had taken shelter in jungly hill where it was not possible to attack by cavalry.

Subsequently, Col. Oakes therefore sent back to camp for the help of at least 100 of the Madras 3rd European Regiment. The force which was requisitioned arrived on the 5th December but by that time most of the rebels had fled off. About 60 of the rebels had killed in that action.

Goolab Singh & Isree Bajpai were Captured

Besides Desput, Zalim Singh, Chattur Singh, Bakht Singh & Om Rao Khangar the other noted rebel leaders of district Hamirpur were Goolab Singh & Isree Bajpai³⁶. Goolab Singh was the brother of the prominent leader Bakht Singh. However, Freeling who was leading the British force in southern parganas of Hamirpur proceeded to India in the Alipoora Jagir on 5th December at day break. He had information that Goolab Singh & Isree Bajpai had been hiding out in these areas. Freeling attacked them & captured the above chiefs.

Bakht Singh approached to Commissioner of Hamirpur

The revolutionary activities in Bundelkhand were about to end by the middle of December 1858. Most of the leaders either fled to unknown direction³⁷ or kept quiet. Certainly the district of Hamirpur remained disturbed much longer. However the revolutionary activities were also declining in this part. Jalaun had become quiet by that time³⁸. Meanwhile Bakht Singh sent information to the Deputy Commissioner that he was ready to surrender provided half of the Alipur Jagir was restored to him. In reply he was communicated that "If free from European blood life was safe if he came in & that any claims he had should be considered".

It is evident from Pinkaney's report that the rebel chief was still plundering Jaitpur & Mahoba Parganas. No doubt Brigadier Munrey made an attempt on him on 10th December but he failed. However, the rest of the district was quiet.

Chattur Singh and Desput subsequently withdrew from the scene of activity with the result the district of Hamirpur settled into its normal state⁴⁰.

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Chapter - VIII

Conclusion

Chapter – 8

CONCLUSION

The people of Bundelkhand has been freedom minded since the dawn of civilization. The hilly nature and climatic condition of the region helped them to be hardy they behaved as the champion of maintaining the purity of Indian culture. Never did the people of Bundelkhand submit permanently to any foreign yoke and never did their tenacious spirit of freedom die out, even when by force of uncontrollable circumstances, they had to remain tie down to outside authority during the ancient & medeval periods.

Though dormant, it was remained alive & often asserted itself . This noble trait in the character of the people has persisted through out the whole range of history. A striking example of this trait is Chatrasal Bundela. His bid of independence against the Mughal authority was initiated by Beer Singh & Jujhar Singh & kept up by Champat Rai, Chattrasal's father. This spirit of freedom of the people of Bundelkhand persisted through out the history.

The Rani of Jhansi kept up this spirit and fought against the foreign rule in the very same manner.

People's Co-operation to the Rani of Jhansi

The brave Rani who was the guiding force and the chief leader of the great revolt of 1857 received the co-operation of the people of Bundelkhand whole heartedly. It is evident from the fact that when the

adjoining native states of Datia and Orchha had been attacking Jhansi in support of the British, the people strongly opposed the joint venture of Datia and Orchha. The inhabitants of Jhansi attacked the forces of the Rani of Tehree and captured the fort of Orchha. Never was such and unprecedented enthusiasm of people which was witnessed at that juncture.

Major F.W. Pinkaney who was Superintendent of Jhansi informed¹ the Secretary that the rebels from Jhansi fort of Mauranipur had taken the fort of Barwasagar and now besieging the fort of Orchha belonging to the Tehri Rani.

Pitched Battle against the British

The people of Jhansi and the Rohilla soldiers who had been so inspired by the Rani Laxmi Bai that they fought pitched battle against the British to defend the honour and prestige of Rani. The Rohillas were in abundance in Jhansi force & they had been assigned the task of defending all gates of Jhansi fort. The local people who had been adamant to fight the British army tooth & kneel actively supported the Rohillas. When Hugh Rose managed the Rohillas fought pitched battle against the enemy with the support of the inhabitants of the town. Hugh Rose kept up a heavy fire on Jhansi fort and managed to enter the city on 03rd April 1858. Soon after the British soldiers marched towards the Rani's palace Major Pinkaney in his letter to described the brave resistance of the native and the Rohillas in these words . " The Rohillas put up a brave resistance against the British soldiers & they fought pitched battle against the enemy". In spite of the fact that their leader (Rani of Jhansi) had left Jhansi, Rohillas did not loose heart and with the

co-operation of local people continued the brave resistance. The people of Jhansi naturally bore the brunt of enemy's attack with great courage.

Jhansi was badly looted & the most natives whose resisted were killed. This ferocious attack of British force is still being remembered by the people as Jhansi 'Gale Ke Fansi'. No doubt the people who were over enthusiastic in overthrowing the foreign rule rendered every sacrifice for the honour & prestige of their beloved queen, Rani Laxmi Bai.

People's Participation Increased after the fall of Kalpi

Moreover another example of the active participation of the people of Bundelkhand in the revolt of 1857 was the development which took place with the fall of Kalpi fort. In fact the revolutionaries collected at Kalpi to put a combined resistance against the British forces after through consultation the troops were paraded in the presence of Rani & Tantia Topee. The Rao Sahib, after addressing the troops, ordered Tantia to lead them against the advancing British army.

Thus the revolutionaries made a very pronounced attack on the right side on 22nd May 1858. Pinkaney reported the happening as follows³ "At about 1 p.m. the enemies were completely driven out & they suffered heavy loss particularly in the ravines between the Goolawli rivers". In spite of the reverses at Kalpi the native and the soldiers of the revolutionary leaders did not lose courage. Soon after they divided to scatter in the ravines so that they could have harassed the foreign forces by adopting the Goriella Warfare. The areas adjoining to Jamuna was surrounded by ravines it suited most for the Goriella warfare. Thus the new strategy was adopted.



KALPI (JALAUN) FORT (MANTRANA STHAL) IN COURTESY-ARCHEOLOGICAL DEPTT., JHANSI

However, the British also changed its war tactics and used camel corps for suppressing them. The camel could have entered into the ravines & the camel corps could have produced the desired results.

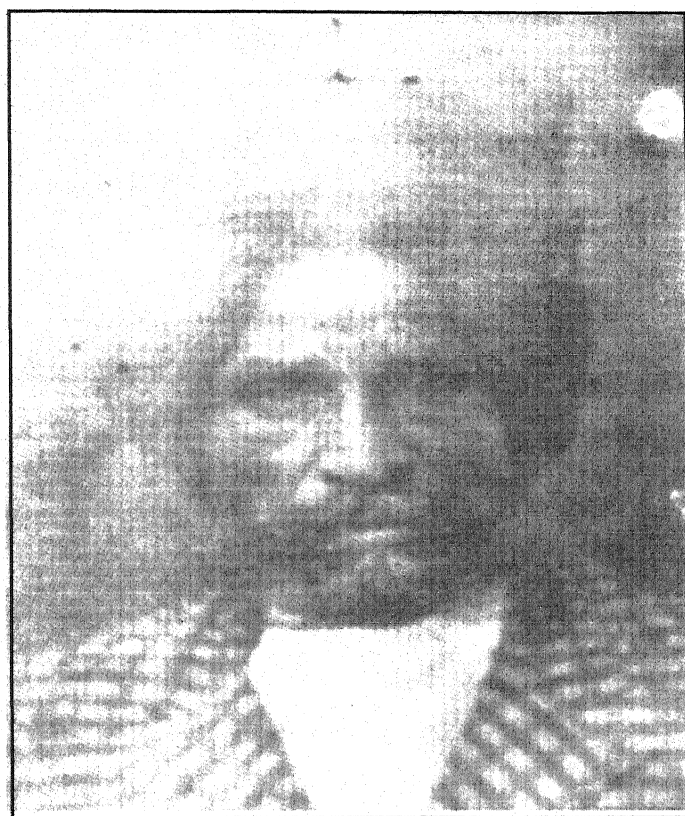
No doubt the revolutionaries put up brave resistance but their meagre resources started to tell upon them. Even then they did not give up their effort of liberating the region from the colonial power.

Revolutionary leader - Burjor Singh

Burjor Singh was a Parmar Thakur of Belawa (Ameeta) of district Jalaun who actively participated in the great revolt of 1857 and he still remembered by the people as a great terror who did not leave any stone unturned to put an end to the British empire in this region. This Parmar Deewan resisted the British troops chiefly in Jalaun, Kalpi, Koonch and the areas adjoining to the Hamirpur district. The British Officers were greatly perturbed because of the Guriella tactics of warfare which Burjor had adopted.

No doubt Major Hugh Rose sent Major Orr to attack on Burjor which took place at Belawa on May 31, 1858 in which 150 followers of Burjor's party were killed. However, his activities spread with great rapidity with the departure of Hugh Rose's force to Gwalior from Kalpi, Burjor took opportunity of this changed situation & recaptured Koonch which was held by the chief of Gursarai on behalf of the British. He was also assisted by Daulat Singh who was also revolutionary leader of that area.

Besides recapturing Koonch Burjor also proceeded towards Jalaun so that the area which had been under the British control could have been



**REVOLUTIONARY LEADER
DEEWAN BURJOR SINGH, PARMAR
THAKUR OF BELAWA (AMEETA)**

taken. No doubt Major Pinkaney had directed the chief of Gurusarai to protect Jalaun from Burjor's party⁴ but in vain. As the chief of Gursarai proved helpless to counter the revolutionary activities of the above rebellious leaders. So much was the influence of Burjor in district Jalaun and adjoining areas that the chief who had been supporting the British to prove helpless.

In reality the people in general were dominated by the feelings of patriotism. Moreover, they had great affection towards the Rani and as soon as the Rani of Jhansi was killed in Gwalior the people of Bundelkhand started revolting against the British empire with full determination. They had the sole intention of uprooting British from this region at any cost because it would have been the great condolence to the departed soul of Rani Laxmi Bai .

Pinkaney in his above letter had mentioned the great disorder which followed upon the martyrdom of Rani Laxmi Bai. He writes that the Jalaun district is in great disorder & the people in some parts " particularly round Kalpi have shown a feelings against us" .

The revolutionary activities which sprang up with great rapidity after the death of great Rani were not confined only to Jalaun district. Infact they had covered the entire region of Bundelkhand also. The district of Jhansi which was quiet for some time became disturbed again & especially the inhabitants between Koonch & Jhansi had become open rebellions. In Moth pargana Dabey Singh & Baldev Singh were very active. They were resorting the same ways which had been adopted by Burjor Singh and therefore, the above revolutionary leaders had common goal of uprooting the rule of British.

Dabey Singh plundered Moth on 23rd May in which the town was looted . They had burnt down the tehsils & thanas and forced the Govt. officers to quit the area. Under these circumstances Hugh Rose who was busy in Gwalior directed his subordinates to put down the rebellious activities, but Burjor of Belawa did not bother and continued his activities with great vigour. The British tried to divide the rebellious leaders & therefore, they managed to win over the three influential Thakurs of Behat, Ameta & Baroda who had been previously Burjor's ally but their friendship did not last long. The above influential Thakurs committed treachery because of some allurements but they had no base with the result they had to cut very sorry figure & thus lost their influence on the people of the area.

Burjor Singh had a glorious history & he fought against the British for much longer period. This period is the most important because after martyrdom of Rani of Jhansi there was no commanding personality who could have led the revolution with great rapidity and tact. It was also the time when Moropant Tambe, the Rani's father was no more who could have guided the destiny of the revolution. Under these circumstances there was vacuum in leadership & Burjor Singh appeared on the scene at the right moment & proved himself the real son of the soil by opposing the British.

Rebellious Leaders of Hamirpur Districts

It has been noted earlier that while Burjor Singh was active in Jalaun, Kalpi, Koonch & the areas connecting Itawa border, the other leaders had been busy at the same time in fighting against the British forces in

Hamirpur district. Desput a Bundela Chief of Jaitpur had been playing a vital role against the British rule in the district of Hamirpur. Meanwhile northern revolutionary leader Zalim Singh had also become active. It becomes evident, from the letter No. 644, dated 10th Dec. of Pinkaney that⁵ both the leader had become violent by the end of Nov. 1858. Probably it is because of putting heavy pressure on the British that they had resorted to such a violent action.

Pinkaney informs that "On the 26th November a party of rebels under Desput belonging to Zalim Singh's band seized of carried of nine government chaprasies as they were proclaiming the amnesty and collecting revenue in the villages of Seawan only, 6 miles from Brigadier Munrey's Camp. The next day one of the chaprasi came into camp with the information that the other had been hacked to pieces with swords." It shows that the revolutionaries had been determined to fight to finish the British rule.

The other revolutionary leaders who were also active in this district were Chuttur Singh & Bakht Singh. Both of them were also commanding the support & cooperation of the local people. When Captain Hillary was busy on attacking Burjor of 4th December the same day Brigadier Munrey sent a detachment of the 12th lancers along with 2 guns & a few of the 3rd Bengal Cavalry under Col. Oakes to Kasheepoora & Lachoor. This force was sent on the request of Freeling who had information that the rebels under Chuttur & Bakht Singh⁶ had been active in those areas. On reaching at the spot the British officers found that both the rebels leaders had taken shelter in jungly hill where it was not possible to attack by cavalry. Subsequently, Col. Oakes therefore sent back to camp for the help of at least 100 of the Madras 3rd European Regiment. The force which was

requisitioned arrived on the 5th December but by that time most of the rebels had fled off. About 60 of the rebels had been killed in that action.

Goolab Singh & Isree Bajpai were Captured

Besides Desput, Zalim Singh, Chattur Singh, Bakht Singh & Om Rao Khangar the other noted rebel leaders of district Hamirpur were Goolab Singh & Isree Bajpai⁷. Goolab Singh was the brother of the prominent leader Bakht Singh. However, Freeling who himself was leading the British force in southern parganas of Hamirpur proceeded to India in the Alipoora Jagir on 5th December at day break. He had information that Goolab Singh & Isree Bajpai had been hiding out in these areas. Freeling attacked them & captured the above chiefs.

The revolutionary activities in Bundelkhand were about to end by the middle of December 1858. Most of the leaders either fled to unknown direction⁸ or kept quiet. Certainly the district of Hamirpur remained disturbed much longer. However the revolutionary activities were also declining in this part. Jalaun had become quiet by that time⁹. Meanwhile Bakht Singh sent information to the Deputy Commissioner that he was ready to surrender provided half of the Alipur Jagir was restored to him. In reply he was communicated that "if free from European blood life was safe if he came in & that any claims he had should be considered". It is evident from Pinkaney's report that the rebel was still plundering in Jaitpur & Mahoba Parganas. No doubt Brigadier Munrey made an attempt on him on 10th December but he failed. However the rest of the district.

Chattur Singh subsequently withdrew from the scene of activity with the result the district of Hamirpur settled into its normal state¹⁰.

Rebellious Activities of Mansaram

If the district of Hamirpur was being commanded by the rebel leader like Chattur Singh, Jawahar Singh, Mansaram, Bakhat Singh, Roop Singh, Om Rao Khangar & Desput the territory adjoining Jhansi was under the influence of Mansaram who had emerged as the leader of the rebels martyrdom of Rani of Jhansi. Mansaram mainly concentrated in Karrera, Pichore & Datia state. Pinkaney informs that "in the South – East of the Jhansi district the rebels under Mansaram had taken the fort of Mayapur and this morning an express arrived from the tehsil of Pichore (34 miles South-West of this) that one cavalry of the recels had placed prickles round the fort and that is expected to attack the adjoining territory next day". Thus, Pichore and the adjoining areas had identified Itself as the leader of the people.

Mansaram continued his struggle against the British it is further supported by the narrative¹² of Pinkaney that "the parganas of Moth and Bhandar are quiet but Mansaram and Jawahar Singh have reappeared near Karrera. Col. Liddell has been written to send a small party in that direction." On 24th Sept. 1858¹³ he informed again that "Some rebels under Mansaram had assembled to the North –East of Kurrera but on the advance of a detachment from Jhansi they dispersed."

It is worthy to mention here that these rebellious leaders had been getting support secretly from the native states and from the Jagirdar of Baroni. They got support from Jagirdar's of Baroni who holds some villages in the South -West of Datia." The Datia state had been directed to put control the activities of above Jagirdars.¹⁴

Om Rao Khangar's Activities in Jaitpur and Mahoba

The period after the decline of Rani of Jhansi had witnessed the rise of many rebellious leaders in their respective areas. Om Rao Khangar was one of them who had organized his followers and started plundering in Jaitpur and Mahoba parganas. These leaders had been fighting the British on the pattern of Guriella warfare. They knew it that they were not in position to fight the enemies openly because of their meager resources.

On 10th Dec. 1858¹⁵ Brigadier Munrey made an attempt to surprise Om Rao Khangar and Desput but he failed. It appears that they fought the enemy with great vigour & courage. No doubt they had limited resources even then their heroic deeds which of course were the expression of people's desire to get rid of the British rule. They will be remembered in history for their sacrifices.

Indirect Support on Native States and its People to the Rebels

Most of the native states had been helping the British in order to safeguard their interests. As far as their attitude towards the revolutionaries it is quite clear that they had full sympathy with the revolutionary chiefs. It is because of the fact that the most of them had been related to the rulers and ruled of Bundelkhand. It has been noticed that Burjor Singh, the rebellious chief of Jalaun had a large number of sympathizer in the state of Samthar. It is because of this sympathy that the inhabitants of Datia state had been

helping the rebellious chief by sending volunteers along with arms & ammunitions. The native rulers too had been helping them indirectly because they knew it well as soon as the British established law & order they would start dealing with them arbitrarily.

Captain Ternan, Deputy Commissioner informed in his weekly report dated 24th Nov. that the rebels forming their band were chiefly men of Samthar and Datia states from which they received arms and supplies etc. The nephew of Seonda Quilledars (Datia) who was active in rebel party were killed in fighting the British troops on 12th November. On Oct.10, the British had imposed a fine on the state of Datia for its active help to the rebels. It is because of this suspicion that the British Officers turned down the suggestion of enrolling the local people in the police for the suppression of the revolt.

It is worthy to mention here that Burjor Singh of Belawa had been getting support from the inhabitants of Nuddygaon. Capt Turner who was deployed to suppress the Burjor's activities reported that " I bring to your notice the protection and ready assistance always given by the Nuddygaon people to rebels of this district. Were it not indeed for such assistance Burjor Singh and his gang must have been destroyed long ago". In this context Capt. Ashburner who was deputed to maintain law and order in Jhansi in neighbourhood of Mhow-Mohoni confirmed the same view regarding the assistance given by both Nuddygaon and Samthar people to rebellious leaders.

The territory between Dhasan and Betwa was much disturbed because Desput was in open revolt. He had been carrying out his rebellious activities with the support of 7000 to 8000 followers. Ashburner writes that

“ if these rebellious chief could not be suppressed then it is because of the sympathies and co-operation of local people which the rebels have been getting frequently.” Maj Pinkaney also referred¹⁶ that “the friendly Thakur’s or troops furnished by native states, who are not to be depended upon for fighting, have in many instances proved treacherous or cowards and who will probably make terms with the rebels should any difficulty occur-like those a Mauranipur and surrender the Government swords as the prices of their safety”.¹⁷

It indicates the British suspicion towards the attitude and behaviour of the native rulers to whom the foreign rule did not believe.

Suppressive Measures and its Impact

The British had adopted well planned strategy in suppressing the revolt in this part of central India. Major Hugh Rose the seasoned General was assigned the task. Moreover, the British Officers posted in Jhansi and the other districts of Bundelkhand had been planning to divide the revolutionary leaders. The native states were no doubt with the foreign rule. Every effort was made by the British soldiers to crush the revolt with great ferocity it followed blood shed and plunder. The town of Jhansi was looted openly. Similar measure had also been adopted in other districts of Bundelkhand so that the people could not dare in future to challenge the British rule.

The suppression continued for much longer. However, with the establishment of law and order the British decided to give punishment to the people of Bundelkhand for their rebellious activities.

The foreign rule made a policy to keep the people of Bundelkhand backward from socio-economic points of view so that they would not be in position to resist the British rule in future. It was the reason that high duties were imposed on local manufactures¹⁸. No effort was made to provide the channel of irrigation to the people who mostly depended on cultivation. The revenue settlements made in the districts of Bundelkhand were too high. With the result the people could not pay the Government demand easily. Under these circumstances they were forced to borrow loan from the money lending communities against their landed property. The interests accrued so heavily that their landed property passed to the money lenders.

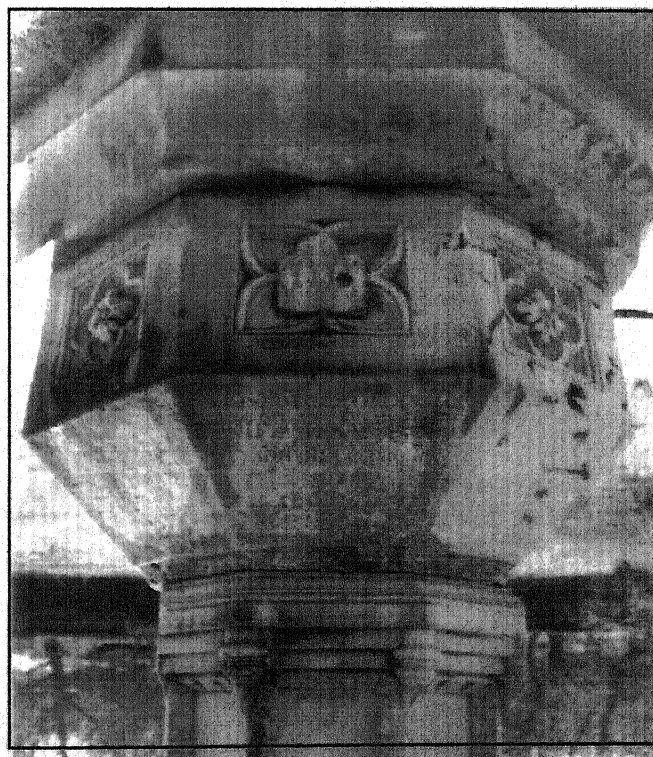
The socio – economic backwardness resulted into law and order situation. The crimes like Dacoity became frequent. The gang of Dacoits first organized in Lalitpur but soon after they increased number. The Bundelas who had glorious tradition of bravery and independence were the most affected victims. The British tried to gain their sympathy by enrolling them in the army which was started as Bundela Regiment but these Thakurs did not co-operate this idea. The reason was that the people of Bundelkhand who had opposed the British were in no mood to serve in the British Regiment.

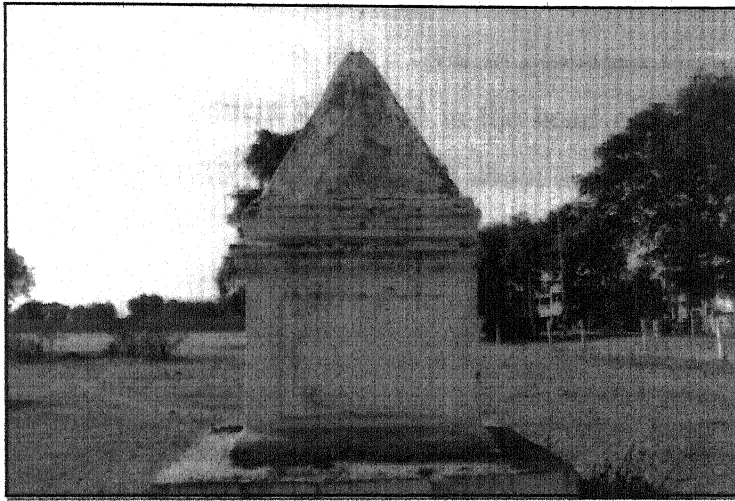
Hatred Against the British

The memory of suppression lingered for a long time. With the result the people developed a feeling of hatred against the British Raj. The tomb of Major Pinkaney who died as commissioner of Jhansi in 1862 is still regarded as Dog's Tomb. It was Maj Pinkaney who was the main figure in suppressing the great revolt in Bundelkhand. It is the fine example of the feeling of hatred against the British.



**MAJOR F.W. PINKANEY'S TOMB KNOWN
AS DOG'S TOMB (IN FRONT OF
ALLAHABAD BANK CHAURAH) JHANSI**





**MEMORIAL OF BRITISH SOLDIERS KILLED
IN THE BATTLE OF BETWA, KNOWN AS
DOGS TOMB (NEAR BAKHSHI'S BUNGLOW
LALITPUR ROAD) JHANSI**

The another example of hatred is the memorial of British soldiers killed in the Battle of Betwa built on Lalitpur Road (Parade Ground). It is also regarded as Dog's Tomb.

It is undisputable fact that the whole region of Bundelkhand had remained backward in socio-economic sphere during the British rule but even then it's the brave people always preserved the spirit of freedom. Although this feeling remained dormant after 1858 at with the formation of the Indian National Congress and arrival of Mahatma Gandhi on the scene of the National Movement it revived in the heart of the people. With the result they became active which brought about the Independence of country in 1947.

References :

1. Letter No. 22 vide appendix No. 2
2. Letter No. 122 vide appendix No. 6
3. Letter No. 196 vide appendix No. 10
4. I bid.
5. Letter No. 644 vide appendix No. 35
6. I bid.
7. I bid.

8. Letter No. 679 vide appendix No. 36
9. I bid., Para 9
10. Sinha, Op. Cit., Page 183
11. Letter No. 115 vide appendix No. 20
12. Letter No. 282 vide appendix No. 25
13. Letter No. 426 vide appendix No. 26
14. I bid.
15. Letter No. 679 vide appendix No. 36
16. Letter No. 302 vide appendix No. 16
17. I bid.
18. Pathak, S.P, Op. Cit., Chapter-Conclusion.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX No. - 1

No. 19 of 1858.

To

The Secretary to Govt., . N. W. Provinces-

Dated - Camp Banpur , the 11th March, '58.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you the force under Major General Sir H. rose, K.C.B. having defeated the Shahgarh Raja and mutineers of the 52 Bengal native Infantry at the Muddanpur Pass on the 3rd instt., reached this on the 10th. The place which is a very strong and extensive battlemented fortified residence or rather fort, was abandoned by the Banpur Raja's forces and is now being destroyed. In it were found a complete manufactory on the European principle for casting and boring cannon and mortar and moulds or models of an 18 plunder and a mortar - European furniture and clothing, some of which belonged to the officers at Lalitpur, and about 200 sepoy trousers and some breastplates of the 6th Gwalior Infantry heaps ofpapers etc. were also found.

2. I learn that the records and all. Eu... public and private were in good preservationupto 7th March, 1858, when theand destroyed the whole and then went off to join the Banpur raja at Chanderi.

3. Chanderi which is 40 miles west of this, has been besieged by Sior H. Rose's other brigade for the last five days; we can hear the firing.

4. Major Orrs' Hyderabad force about half between this and Talbehath, at or near Bansee, which the latter place is held by the rebels and to which those in Chanderi will in all probability retreat should they succeed in getting off from Chanderi.

5. The state of Banpur has been annexed by Sir R. Hamilton Agent Governor General and incorporated in the Chanderi District, and at his requisition the Rani of Tehree has furnished 500 men to garrison Banpur for the present. I have also appointed an officer on the part of government to act both Thanedar and Tehsildar.

There are about 10000 rebels and Mutineers at Jhansi, a few days ago they attacked the northern part of the dominion of the Rani of Tehree.

I have etc.

Sd., F.W., Pinkaney, Supdt.

APPENDIX No. - 2

No. 20 of 1858.

Dated-11th March , 1858.

**Copy forwarded to the Commissioner of the Jubbulpore Division.
Sd. F.W. Pinkaney , Superintendent.**

No. 22 1858.

To

The Secretary to Govt., . N. W. Provinces-

Dated - Camp Talbehat, the 14th March 1858.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter no. dated 11th March, I have the honour to inform you that Sir H. Rose forces reached here this day. Major Orrs detachment before the fort on the 12th and the rebels abandoned it early on the morning of the 13th March leaving behind them some cannon.

2. A party of some 120 Gond Police and 10 sowars has been sent by me to Lalitpur for the purpose of ascertaining the state of the country in that direction and of endeavouring to open communication with the 1st brigade before Chanderi from which no news has been received for some days, but as the firing appears to have ceased it is supposed that Chanderi has fallen.

3. The rebels from Jhansi and from Mowranipur have taken the fort of Barwasagar and are now besieging the fort of Orchha belonging to the Tehri Rani about 30 miles North East of this.

4. Captain Maclean has been put in charge of the Chanderi District by Sir R. Hamilton will accompany can at present be spared to hold it Captain Maclean will accompany can at present be spared to hold it Captain Maclean will accompany this force to Jhansi and take charge of that district as was originally proposed by Major Erskine Commissioner, at the same time carrying on the current duties of Chanderi which under the present circumstances will of course be very light.

5. The Banpur Raja, his followers and remains of the 52nd and other mutineers who escaped from the Muddanpur pass are now in Jhansi.

I have etc.

Sd.,F.W.,Pinkaney,Supdtt.

No. 23 of 1858.

Dated-14th March , 1858.

Copy forwarded to the Commissioner of the Jubbulpore Division.

Sd.,F.W.,Pinkaney,Superintendent.

APPENDIX No. - 3

No. 48 1858.

To

The Secretary to Govt., . N. W. Provinces.

Dated - Camp before Jhansi, the 22nd March, 1858.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No.22 dated 14th March, 1858, I have the honour to inform you that the fort of Chanderi having fallen before brigadier Stewart Commanding 1st Brigade on the 17th March 1858, the force under Sir H. Rose marched on Jhansi before which it arrived yesterday the 21st March, 1858, the greater portion of the cavalry having gone on the previous afternoon for the purpose of investing the place.

2. Some new works and batteries appear to have been constructed and the town walls heightened, and yesterday the guns from both the forts and town fired on our reconnoitering parties.

3. The Rani is residing in the fort and it is said that she has between 20 and 30 guns mounted on the different works.

4. The rebel garrison are said to consist of 300 or 400 mutineer infantry, 100 or 150 cavalry, 400 vilaities and 5000 or 6000 Bundelas, Mewatees etc. but these numbers are not to be depended on - most of the city gates have been bricked up.

5. The Raja of Banpur although it is given out that he has gone to Charkharee is supposed to be lurking about the neighbourhood with a strong party with the intention of annoying the investing force.

6. Datia has sent a force of between two thousand and three thousand men to take part on the border between that state and Jhansi for the purpose of assisting the Br. Government.

7. As yet the inhabitants of this district generally hold aloof from us.

I have etc.

Sd., F.W., Pinkaney, Supdt.

No. 49 of 1858.

Dated-22nd S March, 1858.

Copy forwarded to the Commissioner of the Jubbulpore Division for information.

Sd., F.W., Pinkaney, Superintendent.

APPENDIX No. - 4

No. 69 1858.

To

The Secretary to Government, N. W. Provinces.

Dated - Camp before Jhansi, the 29th March, 1858.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 48 dated 22nd march, 1858, I have the honour to inform you that some of our mortars opened on our right against the town of Jhansi on the 24th and our large guns and mortars on the left against the town on the 25th, a new battery consisting of guns and mortars was opened between these two positions this morning. As yet neither town nor fort has been taken and although the enemy's batteries have in many places been greatly damaged and partly ruined, yet his fire has not been relaxed nor has a break been made.

2. The other Brigade from Chanderi joined this force on the 25th March.

3. Intelligence was obtained this morning that Tantia Topee, the Banpur and Shahgarh Rajas, Bijeraghogurh Thakur and other rebels were to be at barwasagar 10 or eleven miles east of this on the Mowranipur road today with a force said to amount to 10000 rebels and mutineers and 18 guns, and that it was their intention to attack us tonight while the rebel garrison did the same from the town. Of course the above numbers are not to be depended on but that a large body of mutineers and rebels in our neighbourhood is certain and two trustworthy spies saw their advanced guard numbering 1000 men at Paricchha about 25 miles east of this the day before yesterday.

4. A body of about 1000 men and one gun from the Orchha state with a small detachment from this force is watching the fort over the Betwa between this and Barwasagar to give notice if the rebels should approach.

5. It is reported that the Datia force has been defeated by the rebels with the loss of a gun.

6. As yet no thanas have been re-established in this district for from its generally disaffected state it would be useless attempting to do so until the fall of the Jhansi fort. A thanadar has been sent to Pichore but mere as a news writer than anything else. The fort at Karera is occupied by about 2000 rebels.

7. In the Chanderi district there is a thanadar at Banpur with 500 men from the friendly state of Tehree and a Tahsildar at Talbehat with 35 Bhopal sepoys. For want of troop and police no other posts have as yet been taken up.

I have etc.

Sd., F.W., Pinkaney, Supdtt.

APPENDIX No. - 5
No. 83 of 1858.

To

The Secretary to Govt., N. W. Provinces.

Dated - Camp Jhansi , the 07th April, '58.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No.69 dated 29th March, 1858, I have the honour to inform you that on the 1st April, Tantia Topee having crossed the Betwa from Barwasagar on the previous evening marched to attack Sir Hugh Rose's force which was besieging Jhansi. He, Tantia, was accompanied by the Raja of Banpur and other leading rebels and his force consisted of 27 guns, 2000 mutineers, 6 or 7 thousand Bundelas and vilaities and a large body of cavalry.

2. Sir Hugh Rose having got intelligence of Tantia's movements during the night was fully prepared for him. He himself with the disposable portion of the 2nd Brigade was drawn up in rear of his camp and a portion of the 1st Brigade was sent to take Tantia's force in flank should opportunity offer.

3. The Engagement opened at about 6 a.m. with heavy cannonade on the part of the enemy which was replied to by the guns of the 2nd Brigade after which an advance was ordered and the enemy was driven from his first position losing 5 guns and many men in his retreat to second position. One of our guns was disabled early in the day by a shot from the enemy's artillery.

4. The enemy after a short cannonade was driven from his second position with loss and retreated to a third across the Betwa losing 6 guns in his retreat; he was then driven from his third position losing one gun and was followed by cavalry and artillery to within two miles from Barwasagar.

5. The action on the part of the second Brigade was chiefly with cavalry and artillery. The enemy kept up a well-sustained fire from his guns his cavalry never came fairly to the front. From the extended country over which the action was fought 14 miles long by 3 or 4 miles wide; it is impossible to say exactly what loss the enemy suffered but I should think it certainly could not have been less than 6 or 7 hundred killed.

6. In the meantime part of the first Brigade fell in with a large body of the enemy which had separated from Tantia's main body, attacked and defeated them killing upwards of 230 and taking 6 guns thus making Tantia's army of 18 guns.

7. After his defeat Tantia's army fled in two bodies, one making for Kalpi and the other for Mauranipur.

8. During this time the rebel garrison of Jhansi manned the walls and kept up a rapid fire from all their guns, but Sir Hugh Rose still kept up the siege and investment with part of his forces they could not sally out.

9. On the 2nd the force rested, the siege being carried on as usual.

10. At day break on the third April the town of Jhansi was assaulted in three places and a false attack was also made near the Unnao Gate to the right of the three real ones.

11....The left assault was made to the breach to the south of and near to the fort walls towards the Rani's palace in the town, Dr.Stuck being killed and three other officers wounded. The center assault was an escalade by the part of the 3rd Bombay Europeans who succeeded and carried the rampart with little

loss, Lt. Fox, Madras Sappers and Miners being dangerously wounded. The right attack was also an escalade but failed owing to the ladder breaking and being too short. Lts. Dick and Mickle John of the Bombay Sappers who succeeded in mounting to the top of the wall were killed and Lt. Bonns wounded with a stone. The 3rd Bombay Europeans who were the assaulting party suffered severe loss but going round to the center attack also entered the town.

12. The different assaulting parties then pressed on through the town under a heavy street fire, Lt. Col. Turnbull of the Bombay Artillery being mortally wounded and they joined each other near the Rani's palace which was carried after a sharp resistance. At evening time above half the town was in our possession, the enemy holding the fort and the north east of the town.

13. During the fight in the town a large body of the enemy amounting to upwards of 400 broke out of the town and tried to make off in the North West direction but they were followed up by infantry, cavalry and artillery, surrounded on a hill and all killed. In this last affair Lt. Park of the Bombay Infantry was killed.

14. On the 4th the remaining party of the town was taken possession of and very many of the rebels who attempted to escape were cut up by our pickets. The rebel garrison now retreated to the fort.

15. On the night of the 4th the Rani and a large body made a dash out of the fort but were driven back from the direction they took, they then changed their course and got through the picket towards Bhandar. They were followed up by Lt. Dowker, Madras army of the Hyderabad contingent with a small body of cavalry who inflicted some loss on them but the Rani got off although her tents etc. were captured. Lt. Dowker was beaten from his horse and cut down but his wounds are not dangerous.

16. On the 5th the fort was taken possession of and an attack made on parties of rebels, mostly Rohillas who had taken up a position outside the wall in a superb called the Nai Basti, these parties were entirely destroyed on 6th; but I regret to say that Capt. Sinclan of 39th Madras N.I. was killed and Capt. Lewis of 86 Foot and Hyderabad Infantry killed and wounded.

17. The enemy's loss must have been about 3000 killed and several guns have been taken.

18. Our loss from the morning of the 1st up to the evening of the 5th April inclusive was nearly as follows:-

	European Officers	Europeans	Natives	Total
killed	06	34	15	55
Wounded	12	132	30	174

19. The example made at Jhansi will, I have no doubt, have an excellent effect in facilitating the tranquilizing of Bundelkhand.

20. The city has not been made over to the civil authorities- Sir H. Rose this day informed me that did not consider it right to do so for some days yet as there are many rebels concealed singly in the town who shoot down any European in the streets if occasion offered.

I have etc.

Sd., F.W., Pinkaney, Supdt.

APPENDIX No. - 6

No. 122 of 1858.

To

The Secretary to Govt., N. W. Provinces.

Dated - Camp Jhansi , the 23rd April, '58.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 83 of 07th April , 1858, I have the honour to inform you that Hugh Rose's force is still at Jhansi, but Major orrs Hyderabad Force has been sent towards Gursarai and Kotra; a detachment under Major Gall to Moth and another strong detachment under Col. South , 86 foot towards Mayapore and Koolaries to communicate with the 71st and to observe the Kota rebels numbering about 600 who are or were in the neighbourhood of koolarus.

2. The chief force of the rebels is at Kalpi which is being strengthened by them and they have strong advanced parties at Jalaun and Orai. It is reported that their total strength is about 15000, of which 4 or 5000 are mutineers or Poobais newly enlisted, 800 viliaties and the rest Bundelas, Powars etc. It is also said that they have 18 guns, some of very large caliber.

3. The Chanderi district is held by us with the assistance of troops furnished by neighbouring friendly native states and by Thakurs who have not compromised themselves against us. Bands of marauders, however still abound there and only a few days ago they attacked the Tehsil at Talbehat but were beaten off. The duties of the Chanderi district are performed by Captain Maclean who is also Deputy Commissioner of Jhansi and resides at the latter place and of course can not devote that attention to Chanderi that it requires. Unti a separate Deputy Commissioner for Chanderi is appointed and until a strong detachment, say 400 men with 2 guns, be posted at Lalitpur, the Chanderi will never be got over to anything like order.

4. In the Jhansi district the Tehsils and Thanas have been re-established and government officials posted to them. The men for police etc. have been furnished by friendly Thakurs and by neighbouring friendly native states. No kists have yet been collected and I apprehend great difficulty in setting what amount of kist we ought to collect as during the period that elapsed from the massacre until the arrival of our force here our so- called friends the Rajas of tehree and Duttia had occupied a considerable portion of the Jhansi district and made collectiopns to a great amount - I hear some lacs of rupee - but as yet I can not state the sum with exactness and perhaps until things get more settled it would be as well to make no enquiry on the subject as it might unsettle the minds of those states now assisting us.

5.....As yet the civil authorities have not had the town of Jhansi made over to them. The great mass of the inhabitants have fled and only about 6000 remain, the greater part or whom are elderly people and women. Regarding this subject I beg to refer you to copies herewith sent of my letter No.92 sent to Sir R. Hamilton, agent to G.g on 12th April, Sir Hugh Rose(on 13th April ,1858)'s letter forwarded by Sir Hamilton to me in reply to my letter above referred and to a petition dated 19th april, 1858, forwarded to me by the inhabitants of Jhansi.

6. Thanas have been established at Duboh and Talgaon in the Jalaun district, the police being furnished from Duttia and Captain Ternan for the present carry on the duties of that part of the Jalaun district which is in our possession from Jhansi.

I have etc.
Sd., F.W., Pinkaney, Supdt.

APPENDIX No. - 7

No. 138 of 1858.

To

The Secretary to Govt., N. W. Provinces.

Dated - Camp- Moth , the 30th April, 1858.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 122 dated 23rd April, 1858, I have the honour to inform you that the greater part of Sir Hugh Rose's force marched from Jhansi on the 26th April towards Kalpi , leaving an adequate garrison for the protection of Jhansi.

2. As stated in my last letter Government Thanas and Tehsils have been established throughout thr district but as yet the town of Jhansi has not been made over to the civil authorities.

3. Chanderi is in much the same state as it was at the time of my last report. Omrao singh, an illegitimate brother of the Banpur Raja is said to bge collecting men in the jungles near Talbehat.

.10.

4. The rebels and mutineers having been strengthened by between 3 and 4000 men who had fled from Banda after their defeat by Major General whitlock now hold Kalpi as formerly and have a strong advanced party numbering 4 or 5000 men with 4 guns at Kunch 23 miles from this on the road to Jalaun.

I have etc.

Sd.,F.W.,Pinkaney,Supdt.

APPENDIX No. - 8

No. 152 of 1858.

To

The Secretary to Govt., N. W. Provinces.

Dated - Camp- Orai , the 10th April, 1858.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 138 dated 30th, April, 1858, I have the honour to inform you that on the 7th May, 1858, the force under Sir Hugh Rose attacked the mutineers etc. from Kalpi who had taken up a strong position at Kunch and with whom were the Rani of Jhansi and Tantia Topee. Sir Hugh Rose by a flank movement succeeded in turning their defences and took the old fort which rendered their position untenable and they retreated with precipitation followed up by our cavalry and field artillery which killed about 380 or 400 mutineers of the 32 and 52, and 56th Bengal Native Infantry and of the 1st, 2nd, 4th and 6th Gwalior of whom were sun strokes. The enemy's cavalry behaved as usual very ill and fled early in the day as did the Rani and Tantia Topee. On the 9th the force advanced to Hurdoi in the fort of which place 4 more guns were found.

2. The mutineers are now concentrated at Kalpi with the Banda Nawab near Jelalpur. The Jalaun Rani is at Jalaun and it is said wishes to come in.

3. In the Jhansi district revenue is being collected but slowly. Captain Maclean states that he will very shortly have a fair police force but mostly composed of men from this part of the country, few others being at present procurable.

4. As yet the Chanderi district is quit but as the Shahgarh and Banpur Rajas with 4000 followers have separated themselves from the Kalpi mutineers and have made south for their own territories, I am afraid the Chanderi district will again become disordered as few or no troops can be spared to occupy it.

I have etc.

Sd., F.W., Pinkaney, Supdt.

APPENDIX No. - 9

No. 172 of 1858.

To

The Secretary to Government., N. W. Provinces.

Dated - Camp- Goolowli , the 16th April, 1858.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 152 dated 10th May, 1858, I have the honour to inform you that the 1st Brigade under the personal command of Sir Hugh Rose, K.C.B. arrived here yesterday and that the communication has been opened with Brigadier Maxwell's Brigade on the north bank of the Jamuna. The second Brigade under Collin Campbell (Brigadier Stewart having been sick) is at etora.

2. The Rani of Jhansi and the Nawab of Banda are in Kalpi with, it is said, 8 pieces of artillery and a considerable body of mutineers and rebels and also a strong body of Horse. The horse have been become rather bold and yesterday attacked our baggage on the march.

3.....Koonch is occupied for us by 300 men of the Gursarai chief and I have directed Captain Terman as soon as Sir Hugh Rose shall have invested Kalpi. To do so before would be to risk the police sent there being cut up.

4. As reported in my letter No. 157 dated 12th May, 1858, the Tai bai of Jalaun, her husband and her themselves up to Captain Terman, Deputy Commissioner. They are in the custody of Sir R. Hamilton, agent Governor General.

5. Hamirpur is occupied by about 1000 mutineers.

6. In the Jhansi district everything remains as it was on the day of my last communication.

7. In the Chanderi district I regret to say that matters as I anticipated in my last communication No. 152 of 10th May have become unfavourable. As will be seen from Captain Maclean's letter No. 26 of 13th May, 1858 our Thana at Lalitpur has been cut up and the rebels are threatening talbehat where there is nothing to oppose them save about 50 police and 100 or 150 men of the Tehree Rani: the latter judging from the manner in which they behaved at Lalitpur are not to be depended on as far as fighting is concerned. I have therefore issued instructions to Captain Maclean contained in my letter No. 169 May, 1858 copy of which is appended.

8. The last intelligence that I had of the movements of the Shahgarh and Banpur rajas was that on the 10th May the former was at a place 5 coss from Shahgarh from which place he was going to start that afternoon, and that on the same date the Banpur Raja, who was in company with the Shahgarh Raja and going to start towards Banpur.

9. I have communicated all the above intelligence to Sir Hugh Rose who has written to Coll. Smith commanding a Brigade of General Robert's force and who is somewhere in the neighbourhood of Goona and who is somewhere in the neighbourhood of Goona, to dispatch part of his force, composing of three arms, to the Chanderi district. Once the above force reaches the Chanderi district the disturbance will, I have no doubt, speedily cease; but a civil officer is much wanted to accompany the force to point out the state of the country and its inhabitants to the military authorities, to aid in

procuring intelligence, supplies etc. and above all to assist in procuring materials for housing the troops at Lalitpur or elsewhere during the rains.

I have etc.

Sd.,F.W.,Pinkaney,Supdt.

APPENDIX No. - 10

No. of 1858.

To

The Secretary to Government., N. W. Provinces.

Dated - Camp- Goolowli , the 20th May, 1858.

Sir,

I have the honuo to inform you that from information received by Sir R. Hamilton from Captain Mayne stationed on the Agra road between Mow and Gwalior it appears that the rebels of the Chanderi district have retaken the fort of Chanderi and driven out Scindia's troops who were holding it for us and who have retreated on Esagarh.

2. This will, no doubt, have a bad effect on the neighbouring districts of the British Territories.

I have etc.

Sd., F.W., Pinkaney, Supdt.

No. 196. of 1858.

To

The Secretary to Government., N. W. Provinces.

Dated - Camp- Kalpi , the 28th May, 1858.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 172 dated 16th May, 1858, I have the honour to inform you that the 2nd Brigade and Major Orrs Hyderabad Force having joined the 1st Brigade at Goolowli, the mutineers and rebels from Kalpi made a slight attack on our right along the ravines of the Jamuna, on the 20th but they were easily driven back. On the 22nd May the Kalpi mutineer etc. made a very pronounced attack along our whole line their infantry attacking our right in the ravines with great pertinacity and their cavalry and some guns attacking our left. At about 1 p.m. the enemy was completely driven off and they suffered heavy loss particularly in the ravines between the Goolowli Rahyr. In one place in one place a body of 150 or 180 was driven over the bank into the Jamuna and all bayoneted in the water by the 86th foot.

2. On the 23rd May Sir H. Rose attacked Kalpi, his right chiefly composed of infantry moved along the ravines to the south of the Jamuna and he with his left composed chiefly of cavalry and artillery and the rifle camel corps circled round to his left through Deopoor and then advanced along the Banda Road on Kalpi, the enemy being dispirited by their defeat on the previous day, made but a feeble opposition and soon abandoned their position and endeavoured to file off by the jalaun and Shergarh roads. Sir Hugh Rose sent his cavalry and artillery in pursuit and above 500 of the enemy were killed and all their guns were taken. In the Kalpi fort immense quantity of ammunition and military stores were found and an 18 pounder English gun.

3. The fugitives including the Rani, Banda Nawab etc. are now in Indoorki on the Scind river Kuchwaghar where they have been joined by the mutineers

from Shergarh and also by the Mijupooore Raja, the Nawab of Fattigarh etc. with a small party. All are very dispirited and have no guns. A small column under Major Roberts has been detached from Sir H. Rose's force to observe them.

4. The Rais of Gursarai holds Konch for us and I have directed him to send a party to Jalaun to protect that place also. Burjoh Singh or belawa, South East of Kunch, is at the head of a large body of plunderers and save near where the British Forces are, the Jalaun district is in great disorder and the people in some parts, particularly round Kalpi, have shown a strong feeling against us.

5. Disorders have broken out in the Jhansi district between Kunch and Jhansi. Dabey Singh and Baldeo of Miawai with a large body of followers attacked Moth on the 23rd My, plundered part of the town, burnt down the Tehseele and Thana and drove out the government officials. Captain Maclean reports unfavourably on the state of the district (see copy of his letter no. 43d/24th May 1858 attached) and I have applied to Sir H. Rose for troops to put down these bodies of plunderers and have reason to believe that he will at once dispatch the Hyderabad contingent to the scene of disorder. I intend to accompany it and shall take charge of the Jhansi district myself as Captain Maclean has been appointed to Chanderi and has proceeded there by Mr. R. Hamilton's order to join Col. Smith's force.

6. In Chanderi we only retain one Thana-that of Ranpur.

7. I hear that Hamirpur has been reoccupied by our forces but as yet I have had no detailed account of the state of the district.

8. I beg to submit for the consideration of government it is indispensable that an officer be sent as Deputy Commissioner to Jhansi as soon as possible. Until I get there Jhansi will be without any civil officer and I shall not be able to carry out the duties of the Deputy Commissioner of Jhansi and my own for my length of time satisfactorily. I believe Captain Neubard now offg. At Jabalpur was gazetted for Jhansi some time back. In the district of Jalaun and Jhansi Covenanted assistants are also greatly needed, for as the time of the district officers will be fully taken up in resettling the district and getting it into order, they will want officers to carry on the ordinary routine work of the district.

9. I also beg to bring to the notice of the government that in this division police battalions under an European officer like those in the North West Province are absolutely necessary. Until such arrangement is made no good police can be raised and they will not be brought under any proper discipline. Should government be of the same opinion I beg that commandants of police districts may be appointed in this division. If from any cause the above arrangements can not be made at present I beg that some officers on the spot may be temporarily appointed to the charge of the Jalaun Police and in the Jhansi district until the deputy Commissioner arrives.

I have etc.

Major F.W., Pinkaney, Commissioner

APPENDIX No. - 11
No. 205. of 1858.

To

**The Secretary to Government., N. W. Provinces.
Allahabad, Camp- Belawa , 31st May, 1858.**

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No.196 dated 28th May, 1858, I have the honour to inform you that on the 29th May Sir H.Rose directed Major Orrs with a force as noted in the margin, which I accompanied, to proceed along the road towards Jhansi for the purpose of repressing the disturbances in the south of Jalaun and the north the Jhansi districts which I reported to you in my last, had broken out in those parts.(Force-325 Hyderabad Cavalry, 344 Hyderabad Infantry, 4 Hyderabad Guns with gunners and 20 bombay sappers.)

2. We arrived at Orai on the 30th May and authentic information having been obtained that Burjor Singh was in his fort of Belawa with a large force of matchlockmen major Orr determined to make a long march and endeavour to surround the fort and prevent his escape. He therefore marched from Orai at 10p.m. last night and on arriving at Girthan, halfway, Major Orr himself pushed on with his cavalry and surrounds Belawa at about dawn, leaving the infantry, artillery and baggage to follow him. On finding that they were surrounded, the enemy manned the walls and began firing on us but without effect.

3. After a delay of about an hour we perceived the enemy collecting in one body outside the fort under cover of some gardens and shortly after the whole of the garrison numbering about 250 matchlockmen and 20 sowars formed in one compact mass evacuated Belawa and taking advantage of plantation of trees, made across a plain of about a mile in extent for a network of heavy ravines leading to the Betwa river; the infantry etc. had not yet come up, and Major Orr ordered part of his cavalry to close round the retreating enemy and endeavour to impede their retreat until the infantry and the guns should arrive; very shortly a couple of guns came up and having fired a few rounds of shrapnell into the enemy's mass, our cavalry charged and cut up 250 of the enemy who then broke and threw themselves into the ravines where their matchlockmen made a very determined resistance. Our artillery having thrown some shells into the ravines, the Hyderabad Infantry were ordered to advance and clear the ravines which, from the nature of the ground, was very difficult operation but was at last effected with a loss to the enemy who escaped were mostly without arms, amongst them was Burjor Singh himself on foot and almost naked.

4. The loss on our side is seven killed and nine wounded, amongst the latter is lieutenant Westward, 23rd West Bengal N.I. attached to 1st Hyderabad cavalry.

5. This very successful and severe blow will, I trust, have a beneficial effect towards settling the country in this part of the Jalaun district in which Burjor Singh has long played a rebel's part now reduced to a very powerless state, I have great hopes of apprehending him.

I have etc.

Sd., F.W., Pinkaney, Commissioner

APPENDIX No. - 12
No. 217. of 1858.

To

The Secretary to Government., N. W. Provinces.
Camp near Moth, 5th June, 1858.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 196 dated 28th May, 1858, and no. 205 dated 31st May '58 I have the honour to inform you that the surprise and punishment inflicted on Burjor Singh's party at Belawa appear to have had a good effect thus far as the three influential Thakurs of Behat, Ameta and Baroda who with Burjor Singh - in a less degree, had plundered and harried the Parghana of Konch, on my threatening them with a punishment similar to his made them submissive on their lives being guaranteed, and are now in my camp under surveillance pending their trial. In the meantime, they themselves, by my orders, have issued directions to their retainers to have the three forts mentioned, destroyed within 15 days and the deputy Commissioner Jalaun has been directed by me to report whether the order is fully carried out.

2. As a Brigade is on its way through the north of the Jalaun district towards Gwalior, the district in question is comparatively quiet and Captain Turanan in his report of the 31st May says that "the inhabitants of Konch are returning to their former occupation; the tehsils and thanas are being re-established and occupied in strength, by followers of native chiefs loyal to the British Government. In a few days I (Captain Turnan) hope to be able to report that the zamindars are coming in and the revenues to some extent (amount) being realized.

3. The Jhansi district is much disordered. Small bodies of rebels ranging from 200 hundred to one thousand are moving about and plundering in every direction beyond a radius of 20 miles from Jhansi. The chief seat of disorder is at present between the Dhasan and the Betwa Rivers around Gursarai to 1500 matchlockmen and 200 horse who have crossed over from Rahat are now attacking Gursarai. We can hear their guns and Major Orrs's force that shall accompany him will march tonight to attack and relieve Gursarai, the chief of which has latterly afforded considerable support to the British Government.

4. From Chanderi I have had no report as the much interrupted. However I hear on good authority that Chanderi has been reoccupied by Col. Smith's force and that the Banpur raja has retaken Banpur driving out our Thana and Tehree troops who were supporting us.

5. Last night authentic intelligence was brought to me that the Jhansi Rani, Rao Sahib and other rebels have possessed themselves of Gwalior, its fort etc. and that Scindhia has fled to Agra. Of course this news will have reached you long before you receive this letter. As yet the fact is not widely known, but once it is, I am afraid that it will have a very unfavourable effect on this division and that the disorders in it will greatly increase.

I have etc.

Sd., F.W., Pinkaney, Commissioner

APPENDIX No. - 13

No.222. of 1858.

To

**The Secretary to Government., N. W. Provinces.
Camp near Moth, Dated 6th June, 1858.**

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 217 of the 5th June I have the honour to inform you that orders have been received by Major Orr from Sir H. Rose to proceed with the Hyderabad contingent via Jhansi towards Gwalior forthwith.

2. This will leave the Jhansi district without any troops to move about to put down bands of plunderers and the country between the Betwa and Dhasan rivers will, I fear, in consequence soon be in a state of utter disorder. I have directed the Gursarai chief to concentrate the disposable armed followers and guns at and near Gursarai and to make the best arrangement possible, and I have ordered the Tehsildar of Garotha Bundu Ali to take up his quarters also at Gursarai with 200 matchlock policemen which I have authorized him to entertain. As however there is a force of 400 mutineer cavalry and 300 mutineer infantry to which are joined about 1500 insurgent matchlockmen now at Busaueo 8 miles south of Gursarai, I greatly fear that the Gursarai chief will be able to do little more than hold Gursarai and its immediate neighbourhood and the country around will all be plundered. The mutineers' above-mentioned out by the force of the Charkhari Raja.

3. I am well aware that all minor objects must yield to the important one of occupying Gwalior for Scindia, but at same time if General Whitlock could spare a small light column on his arrival at Kalpi for the purpose of moving about the south of the Jalaun and North of the Jhansi districts and particularly between the Betwa and Dhasan and in the directions of Rahat and Hamirpur, it would hinder the insurgents Thakurs from making much head until matters had been somewhat settled in Scindia's dominions and troops could be spared to utterly crush the insurgents in this division.

4. Of the Hamirpur district I have no reliable account but believe that we have no footing in it whatever and that it is in great disorder. The Tehree troops have retaken Banpur for our government.

5. I beg to observe that, now the enemy's armies have been beaten and dispersed, the insurrection will never be put down in this part of the country by large columns of troops. What is wanted are two or three small light columns under active officers like Major Orr's Hyderabad column now here, moving about the country accompanied by civil officers to point out to the commanding officers, who are and not friends to government, to collect information for him regarding the position of the rebel bands and to open negotiations when beaten.

6. The news of the defection at Gwalior has rendered it impossible for me to get state bordering on it to furnish levies for police purposes and I have therefore withdrawn the Tehsildars and Thanadar of Moth to Chirgaon 14 miles nearer Jhansi, where there is an apparently faithful Thakur who has raised three hundred men for us.

7. I have not addressed General Whitlock on the subject referred to in this letter as in case of my doing so and of his complying, I might unknowingly divert a part of his force from other objects which government may deem more important. Should, however, government, deem it advisable that such a small column be detached by General Whitlock, I will accompany it, as it will have to get aid in three districts and from my office I shall carry more weight with the inhabitants than any other civil officer.

I have etc.

Sd., F.W., Pinkaney, Commissioner

APPENDIX No. - 14

No. 252. of 1858.

To

**The Secretary to Government., N. W. Provinces.
Camp near Moth, Dated-14th June, 1858.**

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 222 dated 6th and letter no. 228 dated 9th June I have the honour to report that before the receipt of my letter no. 226 of 8th June Captain Maclean considering it impracticable to hold Lalitpur with the force at his disposal retired on Banpur and from thence to Tehree. He is now on his way back to Jhansi- a copy of his thence to Tehree. He is now on his way back to Jhansi - a copy of his report of his proceedings no. 30 dated 12th June, 1858 is enclosed.

2. As yet I have heard nothing more regarding the reoccupation for us of the fort of Maharauni (10 miles south of Banpur) by the Tehree troops.

3. As there is no civil officer for Jhansi I propose keeping Captain Maclean incharge of that district for the present, as, until regular forces are disposable, it is useless making any more attempt to reduce the Chanderi district to order.

4. The Jhansi district has become much disturbed cosequent on the unfavourable news from Gwalior and the police at some small Chaukis have been cut up by the rebels. I have there for directed the Tehsildar and Thanedar in the more disturbed parts not to make small detachments to Chaukis that may be cut up in in detailed but to concentrate their forces at the different Thanas and Tehsils, so as to be able to offer good resistance to the rebels. This plan has so far answered that two days ago when a party of rebels attacked the Tehsildar at Pahore he was enabled to beat them off.

5. The country between the betwa and Dhasan Rivers comprising the three Tehsils of garotha, Pandhawa and Mow is more disturbed than any other part. A band of 300 infantry mutineers and about 400 cavarly mutineers were beatenout from the Hamirpur district and to whom are joined about 1200 or 1500 rebels more about their plundering and their pleasure from one end to the other, some around Gursarai where the chief and the Tehsildar Bunda Ali hold their own.

6. The Jalaun district cosequent on Major Orr's surprise of Belwa and the Cheifs of Behat, Burda and Amata having immediately come into my camp, is coparatively quiet. Sir R. Hamilton in passing through Kuchwaghar made arrangement for guarding the passes of the Sindh River. The Rais of Gursarai holds Konch for us with 600 men and Jalaun with 100 men. The forts of Kotra and Syudenaggar on the Betwa which close the direct roads from the disturbed parghanas of garotha, Pandhwaha and Mhowto Jalaun are also held each with a hundred men for us by the Rais of Gursarai.

7. Of the Hamir district I have no account but believe that the Charkhari raja is holding a part of it for us.

8. The above arrangements althoughj not all that could be desired are the best I could make under the circumstances. Major Orr's force has left for Gwalior and as stated in para 5 of my letter no. 222 of 6th June 1858, until a

light column is disposable to march about the division with a Civil officer , the petty Thakur's etc. will not be put down.

I have etc.

Sd., F.W., Pinkaney, Commissioner

N.B. Since the above was written I've heard from Captain Maclean that the fort of Mehrauni has been reoccupied for us by the Tehree troops. We have now Thanas at Mahrauni and Banpur which keeps the Dak to Saugor open from this.

Sd., F.W., Pinkaney, Commissioner

APPENDIX No. - 15

No. 294. of 1858.

To

**The Secretary to Government., N. W. Provinces.
Jhansi, 23rd June, 1858.**

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 252 dated 14th 1858 I have the honour to report as follows:-

2. In Jalaun all was quiet upto the 21st June, with the date of Captain Tern's last report. Burjor Singh of Ballawa with a small party of followers was lurking about in the jungle and ravines near Duboh. Revenue is being collected but rather slowly; the chief collections have been from deemed it necessary to arrest Radha Bai of Sirsai and she is now under surveillance in Kalpi. I have not yet heard what charge there is against her 350 men of the Madras Native Infantry have arrived at Kalpi. On the whole the state of the Jalaun district is thus far favourable.

3. Jhansi District. In the Jhansi district the whole of the large tract of the country between the Dhasan and Betwa is in open insurrection save a small tract around Gursarai which is protected by the Gursarai chief, Kesho Rao. The Tehsildar Garotha Shas by my order retired to Gursarai and the Tehsildar of Purwaho to Tori Fatehpur a neighbouring town in the Tehree State. One party of the sergeants consisting of 300 mutineer cavalry and 2000 matchlockmen surrounded the flourishing town and fort of Mau (Ranipur), 45 miles east of Jhansi and compelled the Tehsildar and Thanadar to withdraw into the fort where, at the head of 200 or 250 police and matchlockmen furnished by neighbouring friendly Thakurs. They for some time defended themselves; at last they were given up to the rebels by their own men who on that condition were allowed to go away unmolested. The town has been plundered and it and the fort are now held by the rebels who I hear have the Tehsildar and Thanedar in irons. The disturbances in the country between the Dhasan and Betwa are assuming rather a serious aspect, there being other parties of rebels moving about there the one at Mau, and I have sent an express to Sir H. Rose calling for troops now that that Gwalior has fallen. I also beg to refer you to paras 3, 5 and 7 of my letter No. 22 dated 6th June 1858.

4. Our Thanas and Tehsils to the West, North and South of Jhansi held by us with police and Datia troops. Very little revenue how ever can be collected at present.

5. The town of Jhansi is still kept by the military authorities under their bad administration. As it is now upwards of two months since the place was taken and as the Gwalior has been disposed of, I beg to recommend that the town be made over to the civil authorities.

6. Chanderi District. From the 3rd June until today all communication with the fort of Chanderi had been cut off. This morning, however, a messenger arrived with a letter from the Tehsildar posted there dated 17th June from which I learn that on that date there was a detachment of a Scidia's foot for us. A very large body of rebels are at Rajhghat on the Betwa about half way between Chanderi and Lalitpur and there are other other bodies moving

about the district. Banpurkhas and the Fort of Mehrauni are still held for us by the Tehree troops. A Thanedar is also in each place with some police.

7. Hamirpur district. As yet had no report from Mr. Truling, the Deputy commissioner but I hear that the Charkhari Raja holds the greatert part of the district for us.

I have etc.

Sd.,F.W.,Pinkaney,Commissioner

APPENDIX No. - 16

No. 302 of 1858

To,

The Secretary to Govt., N.W. Provinces.
Jhansi 27th June 1858.

Sir,

1. In continuation of my letter No. 294 Dated 23rd June, 1858, I have the honor to inform you that a reply to the effect that he can give none and stating that he has recommended to the Governor general and Commander - in - Chief that General Whitlock should afford it - see copy of letter no. 722. dated 24th June 1858 attached.
2. The Rebels have now collected between the Dhasan and the Betwa in considerable numbers between 7 and 8000 men including Desput and his followers. They have put to death the Tehsildar and Thanedar who had been delivered in to their hands and from there being no one to resist them have become very bold. I also applied to Col. Liddell, Commandant of Jhansi, to send troops against them, but in reply he stated that he had no troops to spare.
3. This morning I've also received an express from Captain Ternan, Deputy Commissioner of Jalaun, stating that a considerable body of rebels and mutineers, horse and foot, have crossed the Jamuna near Jagmanpur into the Jalaun district from that of Etawa and that two other parties of rebels are near Duboh and Lahar, Captain Ternan is of opinion that Jalaun should be occupied by our troops, but that there are none to spare from Kalpi. I entirely concur with Captain Ternan regarding the propriety of our having a military post at Jalaun; it is in the center of the district and surrounded by turbulent and dissatisfied Thakurs, nearly every one of whom has a mud fort. An enemy once in possession with the rebels between the Captain Ternan's letter that men cannot be spared from Kalpi.
4. It thus appears that no troops are available either in the Jhansi or Jalaun districts for operations against the rebels in the field.
5. Up to this time the Tehsildar and Thanedar have remained at their posts buoyed up by the hope of troops coming to put down the rebels in their neighborhood and rebels have refrained from attacking them thinking that they have the example of the rebels between the Dhasan and Betwa before them and find that we do not move a man to the assistance of our police and revenue posts, the dissatisfied population who are the majority will take part and the insurrection will rapidly spread unless a sufficient force be held ready and available to attack and disperse them. Our Tehsildars and Thanedars too will be disheartened and abandon their posts, for all they have to support them are the followers of friendly Thakurs or troops furnished by native states, who are not to be depended upon for fighting, have in many instances proved treacherous or cowards and who will probably make terms with the rebels should any difficulty occur - like those at Mau Ranipur and surrender the Government swords as the price of their safety.
6. Under these circumstances I beg urgently to press on the consideration of the Government the necessity of at once sending a body of troops to this division that will be available for field operations. If this be not done there is

every probability of more distant Thanas and Tehsils around Jhansi driven in and the western part of the Jalaun district getting into great disorder.

7. I beg to add that a police battalion raised in some other division should be sent here. The men we enlist here, or that would be raised by the zamindars and Thakurs are of the same race as the rebels and very often related to them, they will not and indeed can hardly be expected to act effectively against them.

8. This letter has been sent express, another copy will be sent by the ordinary dawk.

I have etc.

Sd. S. W. Pinkaney, Commissioner

APPENDIX No. - 17

No 353 of 1858

To,

The Secretary to Govt., N.W. Provinces.

Camp - Baragaon, Dated - 2nd July 1858.

Sir,

1. In continuation of my letter No. 302 of 27th June, 1858 I have the honor to state that Sir Hugh Rose having changed his plans has dispatched a force as per margin to Jhansi, a copy of his letter No. 749 dated-28th June, 1858, is appended. (1 sqds. 14 Drags., 3 troops 3 Bombay Cavalry; 1 Company sappers and Miners; 1 win 30 Bom. Europe; 4 Comps 24 Bom. N.I.)

2. The rebels are still in great strength between the Dhasan and Betwa. They hold the fort of Mau and two other Tehsils- the Gursarai Chief holding for us a small tract of the country in the immediate neighbourhood of Gursarai. The other parts of the districts are comparatively quiet, but little or no revenue has been collected since the disturbance at Gwalior. Now that Gwalior has fallen revenue no doubt will again begin to come in, but it is very necessary that military posts be established at Mau (Ranipur), Moth and Kurrara to overawe the turbulent Thakurs and give the Tehsildars and police confidence. Strong parties would not be necessary as there are posts at Kurrara, Moth and Mau. A company of native infantry would be sufficient at each of the two first places and two companies at Mau which is 45 miles from Jhansi and separated from it by the Betwa river which is unaffordable in the rains.

3. Jalaun. In the Jalaun district the rebels from Kuchwaghar having been joined by a large body which crossed the Betwa from Mauranipur, have taken and plundered the large town of Konch, which they now hold, having driven out our Thanas and 500 hundred men placed by the Gursarai Chief. They (the rebels) have now their outposts halfway between Konch and Moth and it is said that they amount to about 2000 men. As yet I have had no particulars of the affairs at Konch but had no particulars of the affair at Konch but immediately on hearing of it, I applied to Col. Liddle, Commandant of Jhansi for military aid, and he placed at my disposal the party noted in their margin under the command of Capt. Moutrion, 24 Bombay N.I. and we are now on our way to Moth from which place the party will now cover the country between Moth and Jhansi, and act against the rebels in Konch. (100% rd; 50 Hyderabad Horse). I have also written to the Deputy Commissioner of Jalaun desiring him to urge the military authorities at Kalpi to send a party, which shall co-operate with Capt. Moutrion.

4. In Chanderi we still hold the posts of Banpur and Mehroni with three troops. The Banpur Raja has written to Captain Maclean to express his intention of giving himself up and the last news I had of him, was that he was near Talbehat on his way to Jhansi. I have left Captain Maclean at Jhansi to receive him should he adhere to his present resolution.

5. If the Banpur Raja does surrender, it is very important that troops be sent to Lalitpur as soon as possible, for if they are in all probability the rebels there being left without a head will speedily submit. If troops are not sent quickly, the rebels being left to themselves will recover from the disorder

caused by the chief abandoning them and will choose another and thus the good anticipated from the surrender of the Banpur Raja will be lost. I beg that I may be furnished with instructions on this point. One hundred European and 200 native infantry, 2 guns, and 50 sowars should be sufficient for Lalitpur. As there are now I believe near 600 of the 31st Bengal N.I. at Maraur about 40(45) miles from Lalitpur, the 200 native infantry might be sent to Lalitpur from that place, which leave the Jhansi force more efficient for bringing the disturb country to the East and North of Jhansi into order. There is now at Lalitpur a large Pukka house undestroyed which would accommodate the Europeans, and the natives might live in the old Gwalior infantry burs which are still standing.

6. Hamirpur. I have heard from native report that Mr. Freeling has reoccupied Hamirpur station but as yet I've had not communication from him to that effect, which is probably owing to the dawk being stopped. It is also reported that a party o rebels from Mau have made an incursion in direction of Raath.

I have etc.

Sd. F.W. Pinkaney, Commissioner

APPENDIX No. - 18
No. 380 to 1858.

To,

The Secretary to Govt.

N.W. Provinces.

Camp- Moth, Dated -7th July, 1858

Sir,

1. In continuation of my letter non 353 dated 2nd July I've the honour to inform you that Captain Ternan, Deputy Commissioner, Jalaun having applied to the Officer Commanding, Kalpi for troops to cooperate with Captain Montrion's detachment was informed that the Major General Commanding the Saugar Division Force, had ordered him to make no detachments from Kalpi.
2. Jalaun. Burjor Singh is now in possession on the Pahuj river, 13 miles west of Konch and about 23 miles from this. He has occupied and slightly repaired the small fort there and the difficult country around with about 1800 or 2000 men, the greater part of whom are men who having left this division to join the Gwalior insurgents have now returned.
3. Daulat Singh of Indoorki is plundering Kauchwagur with another large body of men and I hear that a body of plunderers have crossed from the Etawa District are plundering along the South bank of the Jamuna.
4. Jhansi - a large part of the Mau Ranipur rebels have marched Northward and are now at Doonkoo, 10 miles East of Gursarai and 30 miles from this under the Disput and Chattur Singh; they number about 2000 matchlock men. A party of about 200 match lock men under Juggut Singh is at Bunere, 10 miles south of Gursarai and 20 miles from this. The report is that these different bodies of rebels intend making a combined movement on Jalaun or Orai.
5. The attachment here is too weak considering the difficult and Jungli country to act against these party alone.
6. Another party of rebels with some fugitives from Gwalior is between Kurrora and Sipree.
7. Chanderi - By an express received from Mr. Thornton, Asst. supdt. Of Shahgarh I learn that the Raja of Banpur surrendered himself to that officer on the 5th July 1858, at Marowra. I beg therefore that I may be furnished with instruction regarding the Military reoccupation of the Chanderi district as requested in para 5 of my letter no. 353 dated 2nd July 1858.
8. Hamipur - as yet I've received no report on the district from the Deputy Commissioner of Hamirpur.
9. I beg to draw the attention of government to the necessity of having a permanent military detachment at either at Jalaun or Konch, the former would be the best place for the protection of the western part of Jalaun district which is at present in great disorder and also to the necessity of forces in different parts of this division moving about and attacking the rebels when information their position can be obtained. It appears, however, from Brigadier Macduff's letter that as far as the Kalpi force is concerned Military operations are at an end for the season. If this be the case I beg to observe that the Jalaun district, save the small part around Kalpi, will become

disorganised, and the same will be the case with respect to Jhansi district, nearly half of which is now held by the rebels, if permanent detachment be not sent into the district as proposed by me in my letter no. 353 1858. in this Col. Liddle, Commandant of Jhansi agrees with me and he has decided on establishing a post of 100 or 150 men at this place Moth.

10. It must be remembered that although in this division the rebels have been beaten when collected what may be called armies, and their chief strong holds and all their guns have been taken, yet having dispersed they are now taken altogether nearly as strong as ever, still carry on a petty warfare in which they are greatly aided by the native of the country. Thus there yet remains much to do as far as petty military operations are concerned.

I have etc.

Sd. F.W. Pinkaney, Commissioner

APPENDIX No. - 19
No. 52 of 1858

To

The Secretary to Govt. ,
N.W.Provinces,
Jhansi , Dated - 19th July, 1858.

Sir,

1. In continuation of my letter no. 380 dated 7th July 1858 I've the honor to report as follows: -

Jalaun - 2. Burjor singh with 2000 matchlock men still holds Mau on the Pahuj river and 1 or 2 small forts in the neighborhood. He has appointed Thanas, collect kists and forced contributions, and has forbidden cultivators in his neighborhood to plough without 1st getting a Putta from him. Daulat Singh o Indoorki with his band is also in the neighborhood and a party of 4 or 500 mutineers with four guns are at Kunjoosa at the Junction of the Sindh and Jamuna rivers. A party of plunderers from Gwalior were defeated some days ago by the Thanedar of Lahar assisted by some of the followers of the Gopalpura Raja. In Short the south west part of the Jalaun district is in a very disturbed state , and no revenue can be collected there.

3. Jhansi. The rebels under the Desput, Junnoo Baya Chattur Singh and Bakht Singh of Alipur are still at and near Mau Ranipur in considerable force-some 8 or 9000 men, including 300 mutineers infantry, and 300 or 400 mutineer cavalry; they have two middling sized guns and six sipals or very small guns. Jugat Singh is at his village Busneru with six hundred men including some few horse and 4 or 500 insurgents are at Punwaho near enough to succour Gursarai, if necessary. Col. Liddle has ordered into Jhansi the Europeans and guns of Capt. Montrion's detachment, leaving 100 or 150 native infantry in the fort as a permanent outpost.

4. The Tehree Rani has posted some of her troops on the North East of her borders towards MauRanipur to protect her own territory from the rebels. Little, however, is to be expected from the Tehree in fighting in our favour. They will, however, defend their own territory.

5. Today Col. Liddle sent 150 of the 24th Bombay N.I. and so of the 3rd Bombay Europeans with on a gun to garrison Barwasagar on the road to Mau Ranipur and two miles on the other coast and side of the Betwa river.

6. There is an assembly of rebels some 1500 to the South West of Karera and west at south of Pichore: they have re-established a thana at Achloni. It is said they are under Ramao Bara, Jawahar Singh and manasram and that the adopted son a child of the late Jhansi Rani is with them. As yet they have done nothing but lurked about in the ravines and jungles. Many of the Thakurs and land holders to the north of Karera have come in and more seem inclined to do so in that part of the country.

7. Hamirpur - The sadar station of the Hamirpur district is for the present located at Hamirpur until the healthness Raath or some other central plan can be reported on. The Parganas of Mahoba and Jeetpur are in a very disturb state. On the 12th July 1858 Mr. Freeling reported that "In the former most of the Tallokders and oobaridars are in arms against us and the collection are little or nothing and in Jeetpur the case is far worse, there the

presence of the matchlock men of the Raja of Charkhari enables the Tehsildar to remain in the tehsildari, but that is all, is being there is a forde as the neighboring villages even do not obey his orders. This can surprise no one acquainted with the country: hills and jungle abound and with the gathering at Mauranipur hundreds of rebels doubtless find hiding there. The notorious Desput has his chief post at Junjun in the heart of the Pargana and I see very little chance of its soon getting settled down."

I have since heard from Mr. Freeling that the Desput has made an irruption from Mauranipur into the Hamirpur district 600 foot, and about 600 horse, has established his man in the Thana at Kasipur and that another party has advanced to Bhenda 7 coss from Raath. The Charkhari Raja, whose troops hold the greater part of the district has been asked to oppose them and information has been given to General Whitlock.

8. It will thus be seen that the collection of rebels between the Betwa and Dhasan, which at first was small, and towards which attention was drawn in para 3 of my letter no. 222 dated 6th June, 1858, and whose gradual increase has been regularly reported has at last, owing to no military operation having been undertaken, assumed a serious aspect. The rebels have taken and hold MauRanipur, the chief commercial town in the Jhansi district and occupy three parganas from which they collect revenue. They have deliberately put to death the Tehsildar and thanedar and town dues contractor of Mau and also the wives of those wealthy men who having fled refuse to pay a contribution: from Mauranipur they make incursions into and plunder the south of the Hamirpur district, and a party crossed the Betwa and assisted Burjor singh in his attack on and plunder of Konch. This assembly at Mau Ranipur affords a rallying point for all the disaffected of this part of Bundelkhand and although some, perhaps many, may accept the ambesty, yet the leaders who have been concerned in the murder of the Tehsildar and others can't be included in it and with their immediate followers will hold out. I therefore beg to write that military operations be at once undertaken against the rebels and Mauranipur and carried on till that part of the country is thoroughly subdued.

9. The Raja of Banpur is surrendered to Mr. Thornton at Maroura on the 5th July and he still remains in the neighborhood. Lt. Fentom, the D.C. of Chanderi is expected here daily and I have applied to Brig. Napier for a small force, 200 or 300 infantry, 50 cavalry and, if possible 2 guns to proceed with him Lalitpur to reoccupy the district and reduce it to order. It would be in advisable to send Lt. Fenton here without regular infantry that he can depend on the carry out his plans. The Tehree troops, which now occupy Banpur for us, will not fight heartily for us against our rebels who frequently are their relations they will not obey orders and they plunder.

I have etc.

Sd. F.W. Pinkaney, Commissioner

APPENDIX No. - 20
No. 115 OF 1858

To,

The Secretary to Govt.

N.W. Allahabad.

Jhansi, Dated - 26th July 1858.

Sir,

1. In continuation of my letter No. 52, dated - 19th July, 1858, I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of my letter No. 90 dated 24th July, 1858 to Brig. General Napier commanding the Gwalior division and to state as follows: -

2. Jalaun- In this district the rebels are as numerous and in much the same position as shown in my last report. They have taken and plundered the large town of Madhogarh and Kuchwaghur and yesterday I received an express from Captain Ternan, D.C. of Jalaun asking me to "move out a force at once to save Jalaunm. The rebels are closing round it and I (Capt. Ternan) expect to hear daily of their having sacked it. No troops can be sent from this (that is Kalpi)".

3. Jalaun is 76 miles from Jhansi out of the radius of operations of the Jhansi Brigade, which has already enough on its hands in the neighbourhood of Jhansi; so I have told Capt. Ternan that no military aid can be sent from this. As you are aware Jalaun is a large and wealthy town only 28 miles from Kalpi in which there are I believe 400 of H.M.'s 43rd Foot and 300 of the 19th Madras N.I. and horsed battery of six guns. To allow such a town to be taken almost close to such a force must have very bad effect on the people, as they will naturally think we cannot protect them. Capt. Ternan adds that Gen. Whitlock has been written to but it is doubtful if he will send any troops. Gen. Whitlock, I hear, is a Banda and before his answer can be received, even if he determines on moving troops, the mischief will probably be done.

4. Jhansi. In this district matters have not improved since my last report. The rebels have taken Erich, a town commanding an important fort over the Betwa and killed some of our men who defended it. By the possession of this place the rebels between the Betwa and Dhasan can now communicate with Burjor Singh and others in the Jalaun District. We have a detachment of 100 of the 24th Bombay N.I. at Moth and another detachment of 150 of the 24th Bombay N.I., 50 of the 3rd Bombay Europeans some sappers and one gun at Barwasagar, a very important fort. In the south west of the Jhansi district the rebels under Manasram have taken the fort of Mayapur and this morning an express arrived from the Tehsildar of Pichore (31 miles S.W. of this) that one cavalry of the rebels had already placed pickets round the fort and that he expected to be attacked the next day. On this I applied to Col. Liddel for military aid which he has given and this afternoon 50 Bombay Native cavalry and 100 of the 24th Bombay N.I. accompanied by Capt. Maclean D.C. and 100 Gond Military Police will start to Pichore and if an opportunity offers of attacking the rebels at Mayapur, a further reinforcement will be sent which I will accompany.

5. The Banpur Raja is still at Lalitpur with a large following and people are collecting revenue in his name and it is given out in the district that Government have agreed to give him back his country on condition of his

paying six annas to the rupee, but whether these doings and paying are by his authority or not I can not as yet state. Yesterday his Mukhtar or agent brought a letter from him to Capt. Maclean saying that he wished to come into Jhansi. As he has already been to Mr. Thornton at Morowra and was formerly told by Capt. Maclean to come into Jhansi with only 100 followers for the purpose of proceedings to the Agent Governor General, the same answer was returned to him. I think it not improbable that he Raja has thus delayed from the desire to see what road the Gwalior fugitives will take and what will be their fate, so that he may still have two choices surrender or continual rebellion.

6. As Capt. Febnton is at sepree and as a force is to be sent to Lalitpur I have not deemed it advisable to make over any post of the Chanderi district to Mr. Thornton, Asst. Supdt. of Morawa, the more particularly as he has not yet reduced his own charge to order.

7. Hamirpur. In Hamirpur everything remains much the same as when I last reported, save that on the 24th July, 1858, Mr. Freeling reported that the Disput with some 4000 men and 4 guns has advanced as far as Tehlee Pahara half way between Mau Ranipur and Jaitpur are leaving their homes in consequences of the Desput giving out that he intends occupying that place. It is also reported that 300 horse and foot from the Jigni state and 100 sepoys have joined the Desput band. He is withdrawing the troops left in our southern perganas of Jaitpur by the Charkhari Raja in small parties.

8. The amnesty proclamation has been issued but as yet no effects have been produced by it.

I have etc.

Sd. F.W. Pinkaney, Commissioner

APPENDIX No.-21
NO.141.

To

The Secretary to Government., N. W. P. Allahabad
Dated- Jhansi 27th June, 1858.

1. In continuation for my letter No. 115 dated 26th July, 1858, I have the honour to report as follows:-
2. Jalaun. The rebels under Burjor Singh have taken Kunch beating out of it the 500 men furnished to our government by the general chief killing thirty of them, including their two officers and taking their guns. The rebels numbered upwards of 2000 men and with them were it is said 200 mutineers infantry and cavalry. All this happened within 38 miles of Kalpi where at present there are about 40 of the Foot, 300 of the 19th M.N.I. and a horse battery of three royal artillery who did nothing to assist or protect our post at Kunch. If our troops remain thus inactive and allow the rebels to take and plunder with impunity places comparatively close to them the disturbed districts will never be reduced to order, as our friends will be afraid to exert themselves and tehsildars and thanedars will not hold out at isolated posts if left thus unsupported. Nearly the whole of the western portion that is half of the Jalaun district is now in the hands of the rebels who plunder and oppress there will those individuals who are faithful to us who are rich. All this would have been prevented by the presence at Jalaun of 250 or 300 infantry with a couple of guns and the insurrection in at quarter and the insurrection in that would never have assumed its present magnitude and even now if such a detachment were sent against them assisted by another from Jhansi the rebels would soon be defeated and broken up. The rebels are said now to be contemplating an attack on Jalaun, which is only 28 miles from Kalpi.
3. Major Davis Commandant of military police has reached Kalpi. I have directed Captain Ternan to make over to him 85 Gonds now there and to let him have the pick of the district civil police; so I am in hopes that the Jalaun police will soon be completed and effective, if supplied with arms.
4. Jhansi. As a proof of the good done by the action of even a small body of troops, I may here mention that the small detachment referred to in my last report as preceded via Pichore Myapur has already succeeded in partially quieting that part of the country. On hearing of the arrival at Pichore the rebels under Manasram and others abandoned Myapur in which were found ladders which they had prepared for attack on Pichore, and having been abandoned by most of the Thakurs who had joined them, they have to the number of 600 fled to a village from which our troops were fired on and a native officer was killed etc. Most of the other Thakurs of that part of the district have come in (15 came in one day) and have brought or are bringing their arrears of revenue with them as an earnest of their good intentions. Captain Maclean whom I met at Pichore on the 3rd August stated that he expects to get in the whole kist of the parganas very shortly. The detachment now Captain Thornton has been strengthened by some Europeans and guns and will follow up Manasram. They have requested Col. Liddel have the Myapur fort blown up.

5. The northern part of the Bhandar pargana is getting into great disorder owing to parties from Burjor Singh's force, which as stated above is quite unchecked from Kalpi, making incursions into it. They have plundered several villages and carried off some rich men for the purpose of extorting money from them and wrong parties of from 20 to 50 men are moving about. A few days ago they cut off the hands of a pawari. All this is a prelude to a large body assembling and making an attack on some large town. I have therefore ordered the Thanas in the northern part of the pargana, should things get worse, to fall back on the tehsildar of Bhandar whom I have strengthened with 150 Duttia troops from Moth which last place is held 100 of the 24th Bombay N.I.

6. Some 5000 rebels have advanced from Barwasagar where we have detachment and their sowars have been seen foraging in the neighbourhood of the latter place. As yet the military authorities have not determined on going against these rebels. The Gursarai chief is now surrounded on all sides by rebel bands and if something is not done shortly against the Mauranipu rebels it will be difficult for him to hold out.

7. Lt. Ollivant divisional adjutant has commenced recruiting for the military police. He is now at or near Myapur with some of the Gond portion of it, co-operating with Captain Montrion.

8. The Raja of Banpur is still at Lalitpur and his son is collecting revenue in his name and forbidding Zamindars and riots to cultivate unless they pay up arrears to him. By a letter which I received yesterday from Capt. Shakespeare 1st Asstt. To A.G.G. it appears that he is afraid to pass through Jhansi for fear of being detained here: as he has several times been requested to come in by Captain Maclean for the purpose of proceeding to Sir R. Hamilton. The Raja well knows that far from being detained he would be forwarded on. This conduct on his part confirms much the idea that he wishes to put off the day of his surrender as long as possible with a view to see how matters turn out with respects to the Gwalior fugitives and also to collect as much as he can from Banpur and Chanderi before his country passes away from him.

9. Lt. Fenton D.C. of Chanderi is still here but as yet, Although urgently required, no detachment has been told off to accompany him to his district.

10. I have not lately received any report from the D.C. of Hamirpur but I hear from other channels that the Desput is still on the east of the Dhasan river with a large following and 4 guns.

11. In conclusion I earnestly beg again to press on the Government the necessity of the troops both at Kalpi and Jhansi forthwith undertaking active operations against the rebels at Mau or the Pahuj and in Kuchwaghar under Burjor Singh and Dowlet Singh and against the rebels at Mau Ranipur. It will be seen from my several reports that the division for the last two months has been and still is gradually falling into the hands of the rebels bands- as it were piecemeal- solely from the absence of all active military operations.

I have etc.

Sd., F.W., Pinkaney, Commissioner.

APPENDIX No. - 22

No. 162.

To

The Secretary to Govt.,

N. W. P. Allahabad.

Dated-Jhansi , 10 Aug.,1858.

Sir,

1. I have the honour to inform you that Col. Liddel (whom I accompany) leaves this tomorrow for Barwasagar from which place he will advance against the rebels at Mau Ranipur with 750 men of all arms and follow them up whwre-ever they may go. The Gursarai Chief still holds out.

2. Jalaun was taken by the rebels on the 2nd August but on hearing of the approach of a British detachment they immediately abdoned it. Jalaun is now occupied by Maj. Synge with 180 of the 43rd Foot, 130 of the 19th Madras N.I. and two guns and the rebels have fallen back to Madhogarh or Kuchwaghur Mow Mahoni on the Pahooj river.

3. Brigadier general Napier was to have been today at Narwar on his way to Jhansi with 200 of the 24th Bombay N.I.,170 of Meadas horse and 3 guns.

4. Capt. Mantrion's detachment accompanied by Capt. Maclean is between Karrara and Pichore following up Manasram. Jawahar Singh and their party of rebels.

5. I hear that that the banpur and Shahgarh Rajas are on their way to Gwalior under a guardof the 42nd Bengal N. I.

I have etc.

Sd.,F.W.,Pinkaney, Commissioner.

APPENDIX No. - 23

No. 194 of 1858.

To

The Secretary to Govt.,

N. W. P. Allahabad.

Dated-Jhansi , the 20 Aug., 1858.

Sir,

1. In continuation of my letter no.141 dated 5th June and 162 dated 10th Aug., 1858, I have the honour to report as follows:-
2. Jhansi. On hearing of Col. Liddel's force having reached Barwasagar the rebels (save some 250 under Bakht Singh of Alipura) abandoned Mau Ranipur , and under Kashi Nath made for Gurrota. When Col. Liddel arrived at the fort of Bynghur which he destroyed, the rebels having abandoned it-the band Kash Nath broke up. In the meantime the Rao of Gursarai getting bold in consequence of the approach of our forces and of the breaking up of the rebels attacked the Debee Singh and Gumbeer Singh and defeated and dispersed them and the Tehree troops drove Bakht Singh and his men out of Mau Ranipur .Jagat's band has also broken up and he himself has fled to the Hamirpur District. Chuttur Singh , however, at the head of his band crossed the Dhasan and I hear has attacked and plundered Raath and put to death the Tehsildar there.
3. Col. Liddel considering this post most central situation between the Dhasan and the Betwa advanced to it on the 17th instt. Which date have been stationing here.
4. The advance of Col. Liddel's force had been of very great benefit; at present there is no assemblage of rebels between the two rivers , the insurgents have either gone to their homes or are wandering about in hiding in very small parties , or have fled over the Dhasan in to the Hamirpur District. It is greatly to be regretted that no troops from Gen. Whitlock's division have cooperated on the east of the Dhasan and that the Raja of Charkhari, as Mr. Freeling tells me, refuses to act. If even only a few troops had been on the east of the Dhasan in cooperation with Col. Liddel Chuttur Singh could not have made his raid on Raath, and his band and that of the Desput would probably have been broken and dispersed like the others.
5. The people between the Dhasan and Betwa are returning to their homes. I shall direct Capt.Maclean to remain some short time at Mau and as Col. Liddel has decided on leaving there a strong detachment of the three arms, I have great hopes that this tract of country will soon settle down.
6. As when the Amnesty Proclamation was originally published the three Tehsils of Mau, Pundwaho and Garota were in the hands of the rebels , it could not be made known so extensively was desirable. I have therefore directed the Tehsildars to have it again published in every village and to report to me when the order has been carried out.
7. The detachment which was sent to Myapur has returned via Karrar. Capt. Maclean who accompanied it reports that the country in that directions is comparatively quiet. Capt. Ashburner with a strong detachment has been sent by Col. Liddel up the road towards Kunch. Thie

party will clear the Moth and Bhandar Parganas of rebels , who on hearing of its approach abandoned Panodkar on the Pahooj from which place they had lately driven out our Thana.

8. Jalaun. The rebels took and partly plundered Jalaun on the 8th Aug. and put to death the thanadar , but abandoned the place the next day on hearing of the approach of a detachment from Kalpi. The quotes of men furnished by different Thakurs supposed generally behaved badly; some of them opened the gate and the greater part joined the rebels. Jalaun is occupied by 180 of the 43rd Foot, 130 of the 19th Madras N.I. and 2 guns all under Maj. Synge . If this detachment had but occupied Jalaun a month earlier, as it might have done, the disturbances in the Jalaun District would never have got to such ahead and would probably have been checked at once ; At present there is a large body, including some mutineer cavalry, under Roop Singh at Norej Pur 20 miles north east of Jalaun . A party from this last band has taken Choorku only 17 miles from Kalpi Burjor Sibngh with large following and four guns is at or near Kotra on the Betwa . Capt. Ashburner who has 100 Europeans and 200 native infantry, 100 cavalry and 3 guns , has been ordered by Col,. Liddel to enter in to communication with Maj. Synge at Jalaun and Brig. Macduff at Kalpi and attack Burjor Singh if he has a favourable opportunity for doing so.

9. Mr. Freeling reports that the perganas of Jeetpur ,Mahoba, and Panwariare all occupied by the rebels under the Desput and Chuttur Singh who murder, plunder and extort money at their pleasure . As stated they have now taken Raath . Unless troops be sent to the southern part of the district of Hamirpur tranquility will not be restored as the Desput has great influence there ---- Hamirpur.

10. The Rajas of Banpur and Shahgarh have reached Jhansi on their way to Gwalior . The rebels under moheep Singh and others of Jakhlaun attacked and plundered Baree on the 11th. They are accompanied by some mutineers and rebel police under Omrao Singh

Subedar. Some Bhopal troops consisting of 200 infantry armed I believe with matchlocks and 100 cavalry have reached Banpur and Lt. Fenton is on his way to meet them. As soon as it can possibly be spared a party of regular troops will be dispatched after him.

I have etc.

Sd.,F.W.,Pinkaney, Commissioner.

APPENDIX No. - 24

No. 250. of 1858.

To

The Secretary to Govt.,
N. W. P. Allahabad.

Dated- Jhansi the 1st Sept., 1858

Sir,

1. In continuation of my letter no. 141 dated 10th Aug., 1858, I have the honour to report as follows:-

2. On the 22nd Aug. Col. Liddel with half his force moved towards Mau Ranipur and Capt. Thompson 14th Dragoons with the reminder marched via Gursarai for this place, which he reached on the 26th Aug. and on the 27th made a reconnaissance and crossed the Dhasan at Moti Katra where it was fordable as it was then at other places also. The country between this and the Dhasan (2 miles) is a perfect network of deep ravines and impracticable for cavalry and artillery to cut in. Soon after Capt. Thompson and myself returned from the reconnaissance a picket of the enemy consisting of some of the mutineers 3rd irregular cavalry came to the same place and during the night of the 27th and morning of the 28th all the rebels from Raath consisting of 4000 or 5000 matchlock men, the same number of plunderers and some few mutineer cavalry and infantry crossed the river Dhasan at Moti Katra, giving out that they were going to attack us, and took up a position in the difficult country above described. At about five miles from this a picket of the 14th Dragoons fell in with them. As Capt. Thompson had only about 160 infantry he did not deem it advisable to attack the enemy on such ground, where his cavalry and artillery would not only have been

Useless but an encumbrance and deterred to wait for them behind the Lukerra Nulla with the village of great and little Garrotia in his front. Towards evening however the rebels again retired across the Dhasan. Friendly villagers who surprised an out party, which was cooking near the river, killed some three or four of them.

3. The rebels now occupy different villages on the east of the Dhasan in the Hamirpur District from Mugroud just below the junction of the Dhasan and Betwa on the north to Sopuree and Nugara near behat on the south. It is reported that their object is to join Burjor Singh at Mohomi on the Pahuj River and no doubt their move against Capt. Thompson's detachment at this place was with the intention of passing the Betwa into Jalaun at Sydnuggar Kotra Ghat but as I had caused the Lukkara to be occupied by some friendly Thakurs between this and the Betwa as Capt. Thompson was in their front they could not do so. Brigadier General McDuff was at Orai on the 28th Aug. and they will hardly be able to cross the Betwa below its junction with the Dhasan. The only place they are likely to cross is at the junction of the two rivers about Deori where the ground is so broken and ravine as to be impracticable for cavalry and artillery and with only 160 infantry this detachment cannot prevent them. Gen. Whitlock was to have left Banda on the 18th Aug. but as yet no communication has been received from him.

4. Capt. Ashburner detachment was at Santhar yesterday; he had attempted to surprise Burjor Singh at Kilia out unfortunately that rebel got information (in) time enough to retreat to Mow Mohoni where the ground is so difficult that Capt. Ashburner could not attack him with advantage. However, the movement of Capt. Ashburner has freed the Bhandar and Moth Perganas of rebel bands the country about Kurrara and Pichore was by the last accounts quiet.

5. It will be seen that there is now no party rebels in the Jhansi District and that the people are settling down

Capt. MacLean who has just come from Bhandar and Moth reports very favorably of these Perganas. But however satisfactory the present state of things may be disturbances will again begin if strong movable detachment of the three arms were not kept up with their head quarters between Dhasan and Betwa and at Moth respectively and on this subject I have today written to Brig. General Napier.

6. I have directed the Tehree troops to return from Mow to their own country as they were plundering the inhabitant on the road in the most shameless manner and committing great oppression.

7. In consequence of Capt. Ashburner's advance Burjor Singh who after having taken Konch was plundering the country between Kunch, Orai and the Betwa, withdrew to Kilia from which place as stated above; he afterwards fell back to Mow Mohoni on the Pahuj River. Our detachment still occupies Jalaun and Brig. McDuff reached Orai on the 28th Aug. was to have marched on the 30th Aug. for Jalaun which Mr. Passanah Deputy Collector reported to be threatened with an attack from mutineers and rebels at Column. Capt. Ternan (15 miles from Jalaun) where there are about 1000 or 1500 rebels some few days ago (on) 15th Aug. a party of 200 mutineer sepoys went against Madhogarh in which was a garrison of the Rampur Raja's matchlock men who at first opposed the sepoys but on the latter telling them that they were fighting for religion and calling on the Rampore men in the name of religion to join them the Rampore men gave up fort and joined the sepoys, thus showing that the religious idea has really still something to do with the insurrection amongst the more ignorant part of the people.

8. Hamirpur. The report of the rebels having taken Raath and having put to death the Tehsildars and Quanungo mentioned in my last letter turn out to be correct. As stated above they have now left it and are in parties along the Dhasan. A company of Masdras infantry was sent to hold Moudla at Mr. Freeling's urgent requisition. In the south Jeetpur is abandoned by us and

Mahoba is in a very unsatisfactory condition (state) many villages have turned out all their armed men against us.

Among the rest Banuaurh and Jexorala the two confiscated villages have alone turned out 400 matchlockmen. The Panwaree pergana is quite disorganized. The Charkhari troops are reported to be at Ekona 10 miles east of Raath but they will do nothing as stated above. Gen. Whitlock was to have left Banda the 18th for Charkhari but has not yet arrived there.

9. Chanderi. Lt. Fenton was at Banpur when I last heard of him. He will proceed to Lalitpur with 100 sowars and 200 infantry that have come

from Bhopal, and I hope shortly that Brig. General Napier will send a small European force after him as without it there can be no reliance on the Bhopal troops fighting if very greatly outnumbered.

I have etc.

Sd., F.W., Pinkaney, Commissioner.

APPENDIX No. - 25

No. 282. of 1858.

To

The Secretary to Govt.,
N. W. P. Allahabad.

Dated- Camp Gursarai, 11th Sept., 1858

Sir,

1. In continuation of my letter No. 250 dated 1st Sept., 1858 I have the honour to state as follows:-
2. Matters are as when last reported by me as the country between the Betwa and Dhasan is concerned. Col. Liddel is at Mau Ranipur and Capt. Thompson at this place. The rebels under Chutter Singh, the Desput and Bakht Singh are in the villages along the east bank of the Dhasan from Mugrand to near Bahat. For the last few days the rain has ceased and the Dhasan has become fordable in many places. I have therefore written to Col. Liddel proposing that these two detachments should cross the Dhasan and bear up the rebels in the other side.
3. The parganas of Moth and Bhandar are quit but Manasram and Jawahir Singh have again reappeared near Kurrara. Col. Liddel has been written to send a small party in that direection.
4. Jalaun. On the 4th Sept. Capt. Ashburner attacked and drove out Burjor Singh at Mow Mohoni, killing 40 of his men and taking two guns and some ammunion carts etc. This blow struck by Capt. Ashburner is a very important one and has quite broken up Burjor Singh's party for the present I have also heard that on the 5th Sept. Brigadier Mcduff defeated the rebels near Jalaun killing about 100 of them and taking one of their guns; as yet however I have had to detailed intelligence of this affair.
5. Hamirpur. As stated above the rebels are in villages along the east bank of the Dhasan from Mugrand to near Behat. They are plundering all the country in their neighbourhood. Gen. Whitlock was at Mahoba on the 4th Sept. and on that date wrote to me to the effect that from Srinagar, a fort some ten miles from Mahoba. Now that the Dhjasan is fordable it is probable that that Col. Liddel will cross and beat up the rebels' quarters.
6. Chanderi. Lt. Eenton Dy. Commissioner was at Lalitpur on the 4th Sept. to which place a party of Tehree troops with 2 guns had accompanied him. He states that the rebels to the south of the district, headed by the Jakhlon Thakurs are collecting their men but that they have not lately committed any violence. He has been instructed to have the amnesty proclamation extensively made known and to use all his endeavors to induce the people to return to order.

I have etc.

Sd., F.W., Pinkaney, Commissioner.

APPENDIX No. - 26

No. 426. of 1858.

To

**The Secretary to Govt.,
N. W. P. Allahabad**

Dated-Camp Tori Fatehpur, 24th Sept., 1858

Sir,

1. In continuation of my letter No. 282 dated 11th Sept., 1858 I have the honour to state as follows:-
2. Some rebels under manasram had assembled to the north east of Kurrara , but on the advance of a detachment from Jhansi they dispersed. These men find shelter and support from the Jagirdar af Barauni who holds some villages in the south west of Duttia and who is ill affected the present Duttia Raja. The Duttia state has whoever been written to on the subject. Capt. Ashburner having advanced beyond the Jhansi border into the Jalaun district some slight disturbances broke about Pande Ku. North of Bhandar, but as that officer has been directed to return order will, I have no doubt, be immediately restored On the 22nd Sept. Chutter Singh with about 200 matchlockmen, some sowars and 2 guns suddenly crossed the Dhasan at Borrarro and marchingly rapidly round Capt. Thompson's left flank (he was at Seonda, 7 miles from Garotha) took possession of the town and fort of Garotha. On the 23rd Sept. Capt. Thompson attacked Chutter Singh in Garotha, carried the town and the fort and killed a great many rebels. Upwards of 50 bodies (dead) were counted in the town and took 2 guns, one a nine pounder; and all this without losing a man. Chutter Singh has again fled to the east of the Dhasan where he will probably be intercepted by Brig. Munsey or Maj. Gen. Whitlock.
3. On the whole the state of the Jhansi district is satisfactory. The inhabitants and merchants have returned to the large towns of Mau and Ranipur. The manufacture and the dyeing of cloth for which the country between the Dhasan and Betwa is noted have recommenced at a great rate. The people with few exceptions have returned to their homes and resumed their usual occupations and the kists for May and June 1858, are coming in. However, for the present the presence of detachments of troops about the country is in indispensable as for, if any of the rebel leaders were to make their appearance in the district they would always get armed to join them.
4. Although as yet the time has not come for disarming the Jhansi District yet Capt. Maclean the Dy. Commissioner has entered upon every village to state what arms it has, giving the bearers a certificate that they are entitled to bear them and taking from them an agreement that they will use them against the rebels if attacked. When the time comes for disarmament these lists will afford trace where they are to be found.
5. Six hundred foot police and 80 police sowars have arrived at Jhansi from Agrab under Lt. Turner .The civil and military authorities at Gwalior have detained 220 sowars at Gwalior which are much required here, on which subject I will address you here after separately. I have, in the absence of Maj. Davis directed the 80 sowars and 150 foot to proceed at once to Lt. Fenton at Chanderi where there are urgently required.

6. Col. Liddel is still at Mow and Thompson at Garotha having orders not to cross the Dhasan.

7. Jalaun. By the last accounts Capt. Ashburner was on the 19th Sept. at Duboh Burjor Singh had reappeared at Kunch at the head of a body of rebels, but without guns, which as mentioned in my last report Capt. Ashburner had captured.

8. In the affair of the 5th Sept. alluded to in my last; it appears that Brig. McDuff cut up about 2100 rebels the next day. The mutineers, who accompanied the rebels, doubled round Brig. McDuff's flank after the action, crossed the Betwa below its junction with the Dhasan and have joined the Desput in the Hamirpur. District.

9. Brig. McDuff has probably destroyed the forts Bodik and Waoli and has occupied the strong fort of Oanera in which one nine pounder, 2, six pounder and three one pounder guns, 1200 pounds of powder, 550 cannon balls upwards of 60 matchlocks and other munition of war (were found). On the 20th he was at Bangra on his way back to Jaslaun for supplies. Some troops have left Gwalior for Indurki to cooperate with Brig. McDuff.

10. The pergunas in the neighbourhood of Kalpi are at present the only ones in which revenue are being collected.

11. Hamirpur. I hear from Mr. Freeling that Brig. Munrey was at Kundhowlee, 14 miles east of Raath, on the 19th which latter place he would reach on the 21st Sept. Maj. Gen. Whitlock was at Charkhari on the 19th. Brig. Munrey was to march via Tala Rawat and Nagra to Panwari where he was to join Maj. Gen. Whitlock from Charkhari. The Desput and Bakht Singh were at Tala Rawat 10 miles north west of Jeetpur two days ago; and 2000 men and 2 guns of the Charkhari Raja were at Koolpahar 8 miles north east of Jeetpur. Ag Maj. Gen. Whitlock's junction with Brig. Munrey at Panwaree will leave the south of the Hamir pur district uncovered save by the Charkhari troops these rebels will probably go to Jeejhun 12 miles south of Jeetpur; it is also reported that is their intention to go to the Shahgarh District. In consequence of Brig. Munrey's presence at Raath, the north and center of the Hamirpur district are now free from rebels.

12. Lt. Fenton is still at Lalitpur he has so small inefficient force that he can do little or nothing towards settling the district. As stated above I have directed 80 sowars and 150 foot of the military police lately arrived from Agra to proceed at once to join him under Lt. Turner. He can collect no revenue and some of the Thakurs to whom he sent to come into him sent messages in reply to the effect that as they were not certain that, Lt. Fenton would be able to remain (Lalitpur) they did not think it advisable to go into him.

I have etc.

Sd., F.W., Pinkaney, Commissioner.

APPENDIX No. - 28

No. 405. of 1858.

To

The Secretary to Govt.,

N. W. Provinces. Allahabad.

Dated- Camp Pirtheepur, 13th Oct., 1858

Sir

1. In continuation of my letter No. 344 dated 30th Sept., 1858, I have the honour to report as follows:-

2. After the taking of Esangarh by Tantia topee his force divided in two nearly equal parts, of which one under the Nana's nephew (Rao Sahib) entered the south west of the jhansi district at Myapoor and took Pichore on the 6th Oct. from which all the Govt. establishment escaped save eight military police who were made prisnors by the rebels. From Pichore the rebels pushed on a party halfway to Kurrara from which our Thana and Tehsilee were withdrawn but getting some intelligence-supposed to have been regarding Col. Sandmore's advance-the rebel Rao suddenly canged his plans, marched his whole forse to sirrusghat on the Betwa and crossing the river there an operation which took him four days-occupied Talbehat. The force at Jhansi as too weak to attempt anything against him. It was supposed that Tantia Topee was with the division, which came to Pichore, one of the military police who escaped and who had been a prisoner in the rebel camp three days brought the information that the Rao Sahib commanded. He (the policemen) stated that thje Rao rode on an old elephant and was guarded by two 'Pultons' of about 200 or 300 men each, which marched in regular order, and that the rest of the rebel force amounting to (as he stated) 2 or 10 thousand men, of which a great part was cavalry, marched irregularly as they pleased. He also said that the rebels had 10 guns, about 20 elephants and a large amount of plunder, and that they were accompanied by numerous women and children.

3. On the entry of the rebels into the Jhansi District, as it was supposed that they might try and pass through it or threaten jhansi, Col. Liddel was ordered to concentrate his field detachment it mau Ranipur(it had until then occupied two postes Gurrotha and Mhow about 30 miles a part) and to move towards Barwasagar leaving a garrison of 100 Bombay Infantry (Native) in the fort at Mhow. On the withdrawl of the military detachment from Gurrotha I directed Capt. Maclean to concentrate the 150 military police which were divided between Gurrotha and P[undwaho at Gursarai, as Gurrotha is untenable for a small force, were the disaffected in these two Tehsils to rise. The small detachments of policemight be cut in detail. Lt. Turner of the military police has been sent to take command of the police above mentioned and I have directed him to keep his detachment moving about the two tehsils of Gurrotha and Pundwaho to give confidence to the well-affected and at once attack and die disperse any armed rebel body that may dare to assemble.

4. There are detachments of 80 military police both at Moth and Bhandar, and Karrara at which Col. Sendmore has left a detachment, has been

APPENDIX No. - 27
No. 344. of 1858.

To

The Secretary to Govt.,
N. W. P. Allahabad.
Dated- Camp Raath, 30th Sept., 1858

Sir,

1. In continuation of my letter no. 326 dated 24th Sept., 1858, I have the honour to report as follows:-

2. Jhansi. Nothing has occurred in this district since my last report. The people are settling down and I have heard that some of Chutter Singh's followers have returned to their villages. As might have been expected the defeat of Chutter Singh by Capt. Thompson 14th dragoons has had a very favourable effect. Debi Singh, a proclaimed offender and one of the chief leaders in the insurrection has surrendered and he is now under a guard in my camp. I asked him why he surrendered and he was excluded from the amnesty and he replied that he had been so hunted that he preferred being hanged to leading the life he had been so hunted that he preferred being hanged to leading the life he had any longer.

3. Burjo Singh by last accounts was at Doorhat south east of Kunch and the other rebels were to north and west of the district. A party of rebels attacked Thana Duboh and beaten off but in the retreat they fell in with the naib tehsildar who had been collecting revenue and murdered him. Brig. McDuff is, I believe, still at Jhansi.

4. Hamirpur. Brig. Munrey with about 300 men and 2 guns is at this place Raath, but leaves tomorrow to join Maj.Gen. Whitlock at Nowgaon who at present is between and Chatarpur. The Desput and the greater part of the rebels are in the neighbourhood. At present owing to active military operations having been undertaken from Banda and the presence of detachment of troops in the district it is comparatively quiet, but the people do not seem to be settling down and Tehsils and Thanas can not be permanently re-established unless detachment of troops be left at different points in the district with so much benefit. I have written on this subject to Maj. Gen. Whitlock and annex a copy of my letter (to him).

5. Chanderi. I yesterday received in express from Lt. Fenton, Dy. Com. Informing me that hus thanas at talbehat had been driven out some men killed and others wounded and the Thanadar of Talbehat made prisoner by rebels and today I hear from him datedf 25th that he intends moving on Banpur to save it from the rebels by whom it is threatened. By this time the 80 horse and 150 foot police must have reached Banpur or Lalitpur, which will enable Lt. Fenton to hold Lalitpur and its neighbourhood unless, will not be settled without the presence of a detachment of regular troops and 2 guns and on this subject I have written to Brig. Gen. Sir R. Napier, but that officer at present has so many calls for troops that I do not expect he will be able to send any letter his sphere of action to Lalitpur an the country round. He has with him 600 Tehree troops and 2 Tehree guns but they are not of much use.

I have etc.

Sd., F.W., Pinkaney, Commissioner.

reoccupied by our civil establishments. Col. Sendmore has marched towards Pichore Sirrusghat in the neighbourhood of which I hear some of the rebel force still linger and Capt. Maclean has proceeded to join him to give assistance in procuring supplies and information. Capt. Ashburner is in March for and must now be near Jhansi.

5. As yet notwithstanding the approach of the rebel army no rising or disturbance has occurred in the Jhansi District and I trust that, should Tantia Topee soon be disposed of and the troops of the Jhansi Brigade be enabled to return to their former posts, all will go well.

6. Chanderi. As reported in a former letter Lt. Fenton, Deputy Commissioner of Chanderi found it necessary to abandon on the 25th Sept. and move to Banpur where he intended to remain till a military detachment should come to his assistance. As the rebels of the Chanderi District had again become active and taken Talbehath and Bansi threatened his communications with Tehree and Banpur, I think the move of Lt. Fenton was under the circumstances expedient for it must be remembered that our whole force in the Chanderi District consisted but of 100 Bhopal Sowars, 94 Military Police of whom but 28 were armed with muskets, and 140 Bhopal Infantry of whom only 24 were armed with muskets. He had it is true some 900 Tehree troops but as their subsequent conduct proved they were utterly useless.

7. On the 7th October when the rebel army was crossing the Betwa at Sirrusghat I sent an Express to Lt. Fenton who in the meantime had been joined by some more police to move to Tehree and on the night of the same date having got information that Tantia Topee intended moving on Tehree and that the Rao Sahoib would also probably do the same I sent another express to Lt. Fenton desiring him to march all his police and civil establishments towards Barwasagar where or at Pirtheepur he would meet Col. Liddel. The latter officer, however, was delayed and Lt. Fenton came on to Barwasagar where he arrived on the 10th; on the 11th agreeably to an arrangement with Col. Ainslie I accompanied by Davis and some horse and foot police joined Lt. Fenton at Barwasagar; on the 12th a detachment under Capt. Blyth 14th Dragoons also joined us and today we marched to this place (our strength-4 Dragoons- 45, 3rd Bombay Europeans; 24th Bengal native Infantry; Police Sowars 111; Police infantry -217; Bhopal sowars-1000) where we are to be joined by Col. Liddel's force tomorrow which consists of about 150 Europeans Infantry, 75 Dragoons and 100 Native Infantry with 150 European Horse Artillery and 4 guns. Col. Liddel's orders are to protect Tehree if Tantia Topee threatens it and to act according to circumstances. Brig. Ainslee with some further reinforcements will join us in a day or two.

8. By accounts received today the division of rebels under the Rao sahib has left Talbehath and were at Bansi 15th. Tantia Topee is also said to be on his way to Tehree via Mungrowlie. On the 7th, 8th and 9th he attacked Chanderi but was beaten off and retreated to Seran 10 miles south of Chanderi. Brig. Munrey with his small force three days ago was at Geroli and I am informed by the Tehree authorities that 4 days ago Gen. Whitlock was 50 miles south east of Tehree but of this I am not certain.

9. The Tehree Rani and her minister are greatly alarmed and are continually writing to me for aid. I have done all in my power to reassure them and if Col.

Liddel joins us tomorrow I think Tehree may be considered safe if the minister and Tehree troops are true to themselves.

10. Jalaun and Hamirpur- the districts are in much the same state as they were at the time of my last report.

I have etc.

Sd.,F.W.,Pinkaney, Commissioner.

APPENDIX No. - 29

No. 432. of 1858.

To

The Secretary to Govt.,
N. W. Provinces, Allahabad.

Sir

1. In continuation of my letter No. 405 dated 13th October, 1858, I have the honour to report as follows:-
2. Having proposed to Brig. Ainslie that Col. Liddel's force should join the military Police under Maj. Davis at Pirthpur and then both united advance to protect Three, my position was approved of and Brig. Ainslie directed Col. Liddel to move to Pirthpur where he arrived on the 14th, the military police and a small detachment of regular troops having arrived there on the previous day. On the 16th the united force reached Dogoro 18 miles from Tehree having headed Tantia Topee and rendered any attempt of his against that place hopeless. On the 17th I rode into Tehree with a party of 50 police Sowars under Maj. Davis, I saw the Raja and his minister Nathe Khan who were in great alarm and I explained to them that they had no cause for fear as Col. Liddel would defend them. Tantia Topee then turned south and was met and totally defeated with loss of his guns by Gen. Michael on the 18th at Viujoorea and Saloni in the neighbourhood of Sindwaho. The rebel force then made (for) Talbehat (with the intention of making off to the north or the east) where it arrived on the 20th October but Col. Liddel having moved to Baniiori and the Sirrus Koraisra Ghats which are very difficult to pass being held by Capt. Owen with the military police supported by Col. Sendamore at Dukrai and accompanied by the District Officer of Jhansi Capt. Maclean, Tantia could neither break away eastward where he would have been met by Col. Liddel, nor north and where the police held the ghats, he, therefore on the evening of 21st marched for Kotra where there is a ghat over the Betwa 9 miles south west of Talbehat. I have had no further intelligence of his movements since then but as Brig. Smith is observing the left bank of the Betwa and as General Michael on the 22nd was near Lalitpur I am in hopes that Tantia Topee and his army will not be able to cross the Betwa towards the west.
3. The Tehree authorities having been thoroughly frightened by Tantia Topee's threatened attack on them are now really exerting themselves. I have got then to place parties of 300 men at all the ghats along the Jamuna river from its junction with the Betwa near Oorcha to Tehree and as Col. Liddel is here to support them I trust that if Tantia fails in his attempt to cross the Betwa at Kotra and again endeavour to break eastwards over the(?) Jhansi he will be foiled.
4. I have directed Lt. Fenton to proceed tomorrow with the Chanderi Military Police and endeavour to join Gen. Micheal and assist him in getting information.
5. Gen. Whitlock was at Shahgarh on the 18th Oct. Having arrived in time to prevent our garrison there falling back on Saugar as that of Morowra had

done. I understand however that the Deputy superintendent and the troops have returned to the latter place.

6. The Jhansi District remains quiet. On the 18th October Lt. Turner commanding the military police in the Gurrotha and Pandwaha Perganas having received intelligence that part of Bakht Singh's party of rebels had crossed the Dhasan from the Hamirpur District and were plundering Sajanee, marched against them with 103 rank and file. On arriving at Sajanee he was informed that the rebels had left and had gone to Lachooria on the west bank of the Dhasan. Lt. Turner pushed on and marched (to) Lachooria at 4 P.M., attacked the rebels no numbered about 400 matchlockmen, killed 21 and drove the rest over the Dhasan river (where 11 more were drowned) into the Hamirpur District making their total loss 32. This little affair is very creditable to Lt. Turner as his men were never before fire and it will give our police confidence act without the support of regular troops besides instilling a wholesome dread of the police into the rebels.

7. Jalaun. Capt. Ternan reports that the rebels have mostly dispersed. The district is returning to order and the chiefs are coming forward to assist the Government in putting down minor plunderers. Kuchwaghar and the Perganas in its neighbourhood, however, are still disturbed. The crops through the district are very fine. Brig. McDuff with the greater part of his force had returned to Kalpi but was to leave again for Orai in a day or two.

8. Hamirpur. The southern part of the district owing to Gen. Whitlock's force having been obliged to march towards Shahgarh is in a very disturbed state. A new rebel leader Omrao Khangar has started up and is doing much mischief. As stated Bakht Singh who had attempted a raid from the Hamirpur District in to the Jhansi Perganas has been beaten by Lt. Turner.

I have etc.

Sd., F.W., Pinkaney, Commissioner.

APPENDIX No. - 30

No. 449.

To

**The Secretary to Govt.,
N. W. Provinces. Allahabad.**

Sir

1. I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of Capt. Ternan, Deputy Commissioner of Jalaun, dated 25th October., 1858, from which you will perceive that the west part of that district is again getting into disorder and that Brig. McDuff refuses to act against the rebels and remains with his regular troops at Jalaun and Kalpi. In another letter Capt. Ternan informs me that in his public letter declining to move out **Brig. McDuff says-“ Her majesty's troops are intended for better things than hunting the Bundelas who now infest this district. One hundred sowars is quite sufficient for such work.”**

2. It thus appears that the same inaction prevails on the part of the military authorities at Kalpi that a few months ago caused the whole of the Jalaun District to be over run by the rebels to within 15 miles of the military headquarters at Kalpi. As remarked by Capt. Ternan the military police are not sufficiently organized to act alone and they must be supported by regular troops if this is not done the Jalaun District, particularly Kuchwaghar beyond the Pahuj river will not be quieted. The inaction has already had a bad effect on the Jhansi District as a body of the rebels from the west of Jalaun has driven out the Jhansi Thana at Pandokar on the Pahuj and out up some sepoy of the salt? Line. I bring this state of things to the notice of the government as the cold weather has commenced and now is the time, especially for European troops to act.

3. To be convinced of the benefit arising from the military acting it is only necessary to turn to the present state of the Jhansi district where notwithstanding the excitement naturally caused by the approach Tantia Topee and by the rebels on its east border the Hamirpur district being unchecked.

4. I would also beg to be informed whether the Allahabad mounted police now at Kalpi are to be considered under the military or civil authorities.

I have the honour to be etc.

Sd. F.W. Pinkaney, Commissioner.

APPENDIX No. - 31

No. 454.

To,

The Secretary to Government,
N.W. Provinces, Allahabad.

Dated- Camp bowli 1st November, 1858.

Sir,

1. In continuation of my letter no. 432 dated- 23rd October, 1858, I have the honour to report as follows:-

2. The rebels under tantia Toppee who were at near Kotra(Chanderi 9 miles south west of talbehat) on the 22nd October marched south between Gen. Michell and the Betwa and through Jaklone. A party under the Rao sahib was overtaken defeated by the Gen, Micmael near in the Saugor district on the 25th and there are native reports that they were again defeated at Bapsoon Ghat on the 27th. At present I have no certain accounts of the movements of Tantia Toppee with his division of rebels but the native report says that he has crossed the Betwa near Jacklone and is making west.

3. On the 23rd October accompanied by all the military police under Capt. Sneyd and by the Lt. Fenton I left Col. Liddel's camp at Keraghar and marched through the north of the Chanderi District visiting Jerrar Ghat and Talbehat. We found all the country free from any body of the rebels and rejoined Col. Liddel at Malpeeta on the 29th. Banpur and Lalitpur are also free from rebels. There are however, two or three hundred of tantia's sick and wounded at Jacklone where I hear some insurgent Bundelas are also collected.

4. I have written to Brig. General Napier proposing that Col. Liddel's force and that a permanent detachment be stationed at Lalitpur see (copy of my letter No. 445, dated 29th October 1858 attached.)

5. Jhansi. The Jhansi district continues quiet with the exception of the rebels from the west of the Jalaun district having made an irruption into the Bhandar Perganas and taken Pandohar and cut up some salt chowkies. Lt. Ollivant, Divisional adjutant of Police, has however, proceeded to the spot with some of his men and has restored order for the present.

6. Jalaun. Capt. Ternan, Deputy Commissioner in his report of the 25th October, 1858, a copy of which was forwarded to you with my letter No. 449, dated 31st October, 1858, states that the rebels in the west of his district are again making head and that Brig. McDuff declines moving out of Kalpi. As I have already brought the state of affairs in Jalaun to the notice of the Government in my letter above referred to there is no use of my doing so here.

7. In his 5th para of the above report **Capt. Ternan writes- "I must bring to your notice the protection and ready assistance always given by the Nuddygaon people of the rebels of this district. Were it not indeed for such assistance Burjor Singh and his gang must have been destroyed long ago."** Capt. Ashburner who was lately in command of a field detachment from Jhansi in the neighbourhood of Mow-Mohani on the Pahuj river made similar complaints regarding both the Nuddygaon people and Samthar state and I have this day written to Sir. R. Hamilton on the subject but at the same time wishes the circumstances to the notice of the government.

8. Notwithstanding the above unfavourable causes the people in the east about Kalpi are returning to their homes and much traffic is to be seen on the high road to kalpi. The revenue whoever comes in but slowly.

9. Hamirpur- The rebels were reported by Mr. Freeling on the 23rd October to be making steady progress in Perganas Panwaree and its Tehsildar had to abandon Raath but returned to it on the 22nd. On the 10th the rebels attacked the town of Sunera but the Tehsildar held out in the fort and the rebels ultimately retired. The Jeetpur pergana is still in disorder. However, now that Gen. Whitlock is on the march to and has probably reached Raath and that Brig. Munrey is at Alipura, the Hamirpur District will no doubt will rapidly improve if those officers undertake operations against the rebels.

10. I have directed Maj. Davis to send a troop of police sowars and also a company of 100 Foot Police with 50 muskets to the Hamirpur district. The sowars must have joined Mr, Freeling by this time as will the infantry in a few days.

I have the honour etc.

Sd. F.W. Pinkaney, Commissioner.

APPENDIX No. - 32

No. 527. Of 1858.

To,

**The Secretary to Government,
N.W. Provinces, Allahabad.
Dated-Jhansi, the 13th, 1858.**

Sir,

1. In continuation of my letter no. 449, dated- 31st October, 1858, I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of letter received today by express from Capt. Ternan, Deputy Commissioner, Jalaun.

2. It is quite evident that, if the military are not employed to support the Military Police in settling the western party of the jalaun district, disturbances there will not be put down.

I have the honour etc.

Sd. F.W. Pinkaney, Commissioner.

APPENDIX No. - 33

No. 537.

To,

**The Secretary to Government,
N.W. Provinces, Allahabad.**

Dated- Jhansi, the 20th November, 1858.

Sir,

1. In continuation of my letter no. 454 dated- 1st November, 1858, I have the honour to report as follows:-
2. Col. Lidde's force reached Lalitpur on the 9th Nov. without opposition. The Jacklone, nanickpor, Palee and other Tahkurs have however assembled their bands in the north about Talbehat at which place however we now have 100n foot and 50 sowars of the military police under capt. Sneyd Lt. Fenton is endeavouring to induce the rebels to take advantage of the amnestyu but as yet there has not been sufficient time for any great progress to hhave been made.
3. Her Majesty's proclamation was read at Lalitpur in (the) presence of the troops and as many of the inhabitants of the town as had returned to their homes.
4. In the Jhansi district everything is quiet, and Capt. Macleanm with tha assistance of Munshi ganeshi Lal of datia has been able to induce the Puar Thakurs about Karrara to come in on the promise of pardon. Her Majesty's proclamation has been publicly read.
5. alaun. In the west of the Jalaun district Burjor singh and Daulat Singh are in full activity and letter lately murdered some bankers against whom he had enmity. Brig. Mcduff has at last sent a regular force against these rebels and as Brig. Sir. Napier has done the same from the Gwalior side I hope their bands will now soon be broken up.
6. Hamirpur- Gen. Whitlock is with a force at Jeetpur but there are still various bands of rebels in activity in this district and until as recommended by me there is a permanent military post at Raath as well as at Jeetpur to support the police the rebellion will not be put down in this District.

I have etc.

Sd. F.W. Pinkaney, Commissioner.

APPENDIX No. - 34

No. 595.

To,

**The Secretary to Government,
N.W. Provinces, Allahabad.**

Sir,

1. In continuation of my letter no. 537 dated- 20th, November 1858, I have the honour to report as follows:-
2. Chanderi. The Chanderi District is gradually settling down. On the 28th November Col. Liddell having received information that some of the sepoy's formerly belonging to Tanti topi's army were assembled at Jacklone moved against them and drove them out. The Jacklone Thakurs and their men were also in Jacklone and went off with the sepoy's. These Thakurs as well as well as those of police are with their followers are in the hills to the south of Palee and Jacklone. Your letter No. 4835 dated 24th November, 1858, containing the Governor General's orders that all the Thakurs in the Chanderi District were to have a free pardon reached me last evening and letters to that effect were immediately forwarded to Lt. Fenton and to the different Thakurs leaders now in rebellion, and until the receipt of their replies all military operations against them will be suspended.
3. Jhansi. The Jhansi District continues as before quiet and revenue is coming in freely. Capt. Maclean to whose exertions and good management this satisfactory state of affairs is chiefly due has been relieved by Capt. Clark and has for his substantive appointment at Betul.
4. In consequence of Burjor Singh and some 200 followers having been driven from Kuchwaghar to the ravines at the junction of the Betwa and Dhasan I have requested Maj. Davis Divisional Police Commander to send an European Officer to take command of the police between the rivers for a short time until Burjor Singh is disposed of or moves off.
5. Jalaun. Daulat Singh and Rup Singh until within the last few days Burjor Singh were at the head of armed bodies plundering in Kuchwaghar and the neighbouring westerly Perganas of Jalaun. Capt. Maclean 14th Dragoons who was dispatched by Sir R. Napier from Gwalior succeeded on the 15th November in cutting up some 50 of Daulat Singh's followers and Maj. Synge with a detachment from Jalaun and some military police has, as stated above, driven Burjor Singh into the ravines. Capt. Ternan in his weekly report dated 24th November states that the rebels forming the above band are receive arms and supplies etc. and that the nephew of the Seonda Quilledars (Datia) was killed in a skirmish with our troops on the 12 instt. Sir Hamilton, however, has issued stringent orders to the above states on this matter. Capt. Ternan also states that although it is impossible to judge so early of the effect of the amnesty yet he believe many plunders have returned to the villages and that in general it has had a good effect on the Jalaun District.
6. The part of the Jalaun to the east of the Pahuj River is peaceful and revenue comes in freely in that portion of the district.
7. Hamirpur. Gen. Whitlock and Mr. Freeling, the Deputy Commissioner, are at Jeetpur near which in the Irengh in jungles Desput is still at the head

of a band of rebels . General Whitlock and Mr. Freeling have made application to Government for his pardon and this I presume orders have been dispatched on the subject. The other parts of the District are quiet, save about Panwaree and revenue comes in freely in the northern portion of the District.

I have etc.

Sd. F.W. Pinkaney, Commissioner.

APPENDIX No. - 35

No. 644..

To,

**The Secretary to Government,
N.W. Provinces, Allahabad.
Camp- Sirrusghat-10th Dec.1858.**

Sir,

1. In continuation of my letter no. 595 dated- 2nd December, 1858, I have the honour to report as follows:-
2. As stated in my last report letters conveying the Governor Chanderi General's free pardon were sent to the Jacklone Thakur and other rebel leaders on the 1st Dec., but as yet none of the leaders have come in. In the meantime all offensive operations on our part have been suspended and will continue to be for a few days longer. On the 2nd a band of plunders amongst whom were some mutineers sepoys came out from the hills about Jacklone and took possession of a village near Col Liddell's camp: a party of military police under Lt. Turner was sent against them and that officer succeeded in cutting up 12 or 14 and driving the rest back to the hills. Most of the mutineers who were in Jacklone when Col. Liddell attacked it on the 28th Nov. have left the Bundelas and have gone eastwards towards Shahgarh Sate: they can not be more than 100 or 150.
3. The Jhansi District is quiet, save about Garrotha over which Burjor Singh, who has been driven out of the Jalaun District into Hamirpur and again(as will be shown below) from the latter district into Jhansi, plundered one or two villages in his flight through the northern part of the country between the Dhasan and the Betwa. When last I heard of this rebel he was in the hills of Busneei, 8 miles south of Gursarai. Capt. Clark Deputy Commissioner and Maj. Davis with the military police are in pursuit of him.
4. Mr. Fraser Principal Sadar Amin has reached Jhansi and is now engaged in reorganizing the Civil Courts throughout the Jhansi and non-regular part of the Jalaun Districts. Chanderi is not yet sufficiently settled for the measure to be carried out there.
5. Jalaun. Jalaun District is in much the same condition as it was when I sent in my last report. Maj. Syngé with a detachment of troops was lately at Jelanee Boozoorg on the north of the Betwa near where it joins the Dhasan watching Burjor Singh's movements, but information having been received by Brig. McDuff on the 7th December that a large body of rebels were making for McDuff on the 7th December that large body of rebels were making for Bundelkhand, where the latter officer has now concentrated his whole disposable force at Orai.
6. Hamirpur-On the 26th November a party of rebels under Desput belonging to Zalim Singh's band seized and carried off nine government chaprasies as they were proclaiming the amnesty and collecting revenue in the villages of Seawan only six miles from Brig. Munrey's camp. The next day one of the chaprasies came into camp with the information that the other eight had been hacked to pieces with swords.
7. On the 4th December the Hamirpur field detachment under Capt. Hilliary (2 guns, 26 European Artillery, 65 R.F. of 43rd Foot) 110 R.F. of 50

Madras Native Infantry accompanied by Capt. Sawers District Commandant who was also acting as civil officer; with his detachment with some Hamirpur Police attacked Burjor Singh at Tola Kungaon about 18 miles from Raath and drove him and his followers numbering about 300 foot and 50 horse across the Dhasan towards Kukerbai in the Garrotha Pergana of Zila Jhansi. Some of the rebel's baggage was taken and some horses were killed and taken but it is not ascertained what loss the rebels suffered in men, if any.

8. The same day, the 12 December at Mr. Freeling's request Brig. Munrey detached a party of the 12th lancers, 2 guns and a few of the 3rd Bengal I Cavalry all under Col. Oakes to Kasheepoor and Lachowra where the rebels under Chutter Singh and Bukht Singh were said to be a force. Our detachment found the rebels there as reported but the latter took refuge in a jungly hill impracticable for cavalry. Col. Oakes therefore sent back to camp for 100 of the Madras 3rd European Regiment who arrived on the 5th by which time most of the rebels had made off but about sixty were killed in the hill with no loss on our side.

9. On the 5th December at day break Mr. Freeling himself with 20 of the 3rd Bengal Infantry, Cavalry proceeded to Imlia in the Alipoora Jagir where he had information that several noted rebels were concealed and he succeeded in capturing two noted rebels Golab Singh, the brother of Bakht Singh and Isree Bajpai for which he is entitled to great credit.

10. You will perceive from Mr. Freeling's letter dated December, 1858 copy of which he informs me he has sent to you that he is dissatisfied with the conduct of Rao Hindupat of Alipoora and certainly the Jagirdar's behaviour appear to be disloyal, but at the same time he has to my certain knowledge rendered Government good service in the Jhansi District and (in) the neighbourhood of Mau Ranipur and it is not improbable he may be able to explain his conduct satisfactorily. Golab Singh's story should not altogether be relied on as he and his brother are Rao Hindupat's enemies. I have written to Mr. Freeling on this matter and herewith forward a copy of my letter No. 643 of this day's date and trust that my advice to Mr. Freeling regarding his procedure towards Rao Hindupat will approve of. Should it not be I beg Government will communicate its sentiments direct to that officer as time will be lost if the communication be sent through me.

I have the honour etc.

Sd. F.W. Pinkaney, Commissioner.

No. 679.

To,

The Secretary to Government,

N.W. Provinces, Allahabad.

Dated- camp-Bhantee, dated-20th, Dec. 1858.

Sir,

1. In continuation of my letter no. 644 dated- 10th, December 1858, I have the honour to report as follows:-

2. Chanderi. As yet none of the rebel leaders of the Chanderi District have taken advantage of the free pardon offered them although one or two have

opened communication on the subject with the tehsildar of Chanderi and the loyal Thakurs of Koraisra.

3. The rebel leaders, however, appear to misconstrue the motives of Government in offering them the amnesty. Apparently thinking that it proceeds from some other cause than mercy, for on the offer of free pardon being communicated to the rebel leader Hammir Singh of Palee he sent a letter to Lt. Fenton demanding that 32 villages should be made over him on his accepting the pardon. He is only entitled to four.

4. Moreover on the 11th December the Koraisra Thakur mentioned above in para 2 came into my camp at Babeena and made a proposition on the part of the rebel leaders of Chanderi district that the British Government should withdraw its troops from Lalitpur to Jhansi, restore the Banpur state to the Raja's son, and give the original Chanderi District in half jumma to them, the rebel Thakurs of the Chanderi District. These terms were given to me in writing but unsigned attached here with being convinced that the rebel Thakurs would never have made the proposition without some powerful instigator, I endeavored to draw out the koraisra Thakur and asked him who would be the security that the half jumma of the Chanderi District would be paid to Government, he said the Tehree state; and on being further questioned he stated that the rebel Thakurs had had communication with Nathe Khan, the Tehree minister and with Rajamar, a servant of the Tehree state on the subject. A few days before this messenger with letters written in a vague mystical style from the rebel Thakurs to their mookhtar in Tehree had been seized passing near Col. Liddell's camp at Jacklone.

5. Col. Liddell's force has moved westward Chanderi Fort in consequence of Feroz Shah's rebel band from Gudh having marched through the country between the Betwa and the Sindh river, but now that this band has been defeated by Sir R. Napier Col. Liddell will return in a few days to Lalitpur and if by that time the rebel Thakurs of the Chanderi District have not submitted active military operations will be undertaken against them.

6. Jhansi - Burjor Singh and his band who in my army last report were stated to have been near Bushnare were attacked by Bunda Ali Tehsildar with the military Police from Garrotha and driven across the Betwa into the Samthar and the Datia states where they dispersed for a time. The rebels made no stand and had two killed and three wounded.

7. Jawahir Singh of Kirja Kiron plundered a village or two on the northern boundary of Jhansi near Pundokhar but was driven off by the military force from the latter place.

8. Feroz Shah and his band of rebels from Oudh having crossed the Jumna reached Gopalpoor on the Pahuj River in the Jalaun District on the 11th December and from there marched to Lahar where they murdered six chaprasies: from Lahar they went near Seonda in Datia and crossing the Sindh river at Louch west of Indergarh crossed the high road from Gwalior to Datia and Jhansi at Dabra where they burned the bungalow. Hearing of the presence of Sir. Napier with a detachment at Antri, only a march off, they recrossed the Sindh River near Narawar and on the 15th re-entered the Jhansi District pursued by Sir R. Napier. It appears that Feroz Shah loitered a day or two about Amola and sheregurh on the western border of the Jhansi District which gave Sir Napier to move round him and occupy Ranodh in

Scindia's territory at which place on Feroz Shah's reaching it on the 17th Sir R. Napier defeated him, killing 97 rebels taking their elephants and dispersing the remaining rebels. On its being ascertained that Feroz Shah had recrossed the Sindh river near Narwar into the Jhansi District Brig. Ainslee moved out the Jhansi force, he himself proceeding on the 16th with 300 Infantry, 200 cavalry, and two guns to Panwaree and Col. Partridge with 200 infantry and 2 guns to Dinara. Capt. Clark and myself with the military police under Maj. Davis pushed on to Pichore for information. This move Brig. Ainslee's prevented the enemy escaping from Sir. R. Napier through the Jhansi District. At present it is not known in what direction the body of rebels has fled and Brig. Ainslee has moved to this place-it being a central proposition- leaving Col. Partidge who had been withdrawn from Dinara with a strong detachment at Panwaree.

9. Jalaun. In the Jalau District nothing of importance has occurred save the passing through it of Feroz Shah's band of rebels.

10. On the 7th Dec. Bakht Singh the notorious rebel leader sent into the Deputy Commissioner of Hamirpur to say that he would give himself up if the Dy. Com. Would support his claim to half the Alipur Jagir. he was told in reply that if free from European blood his life was safe if he came and that any claims he had should be considered. No further application, however, has been received from.

11. Omrao Khangar and his band are still plundering in the Jitpur and Mahoba Perganas. On the 10th Dec, an attempt was made by Brig. Munrey to surprise Omrao Khangar and the Desput but it unfortunately failed.

The remaining part of hamirpur District is quiet.

I have the honour etc.

Sd. F.W. Pinkaney, Commissioner.

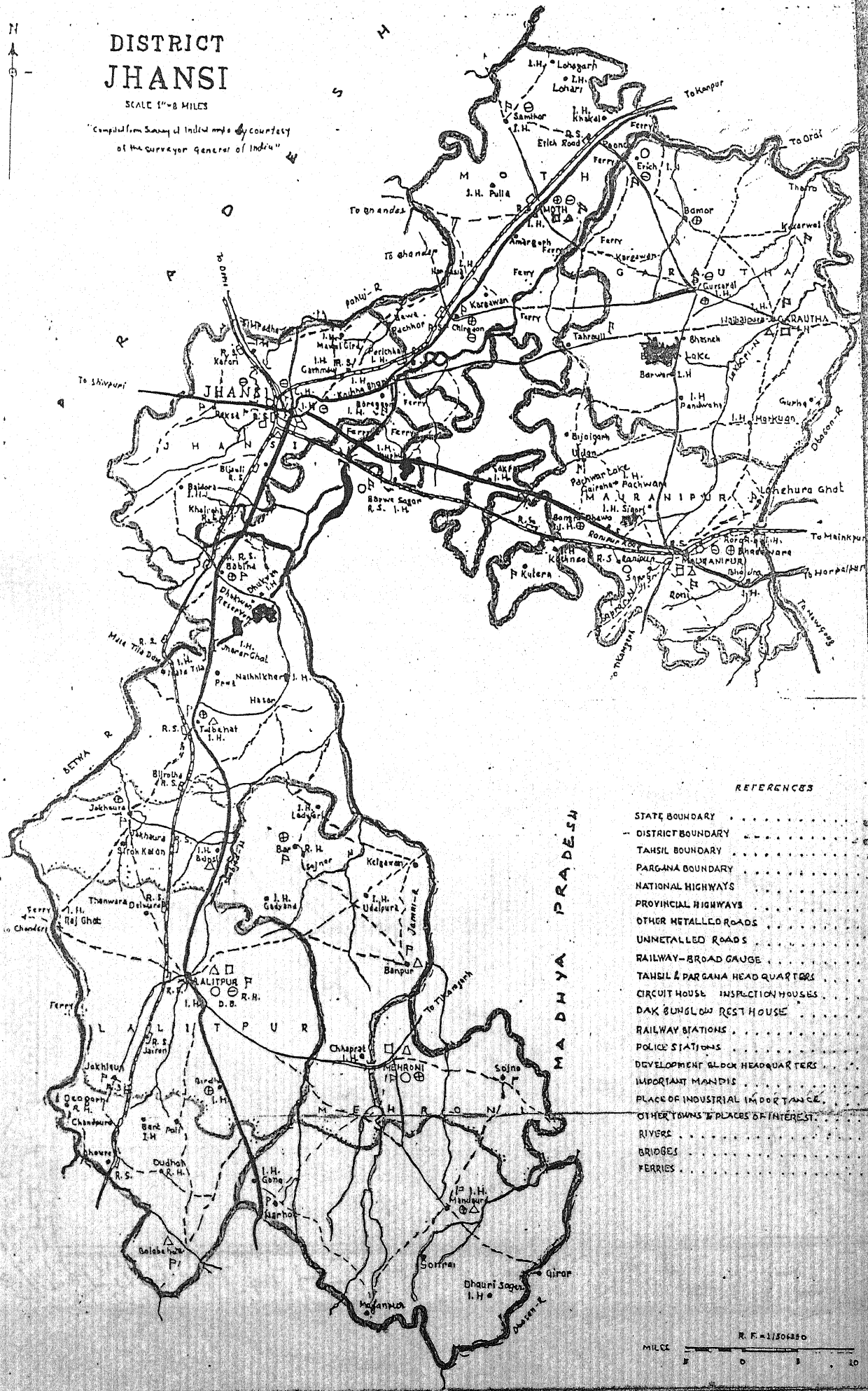
P.S. Since writing the above information has been received from Sir. R. Napier that Feroz Shah's band of rebels has fled to the south of Esanghar in Scindia's territory.

Sd. F.W. Pinkaney.

DISTRICT JHANSI

SCALE 1"=8 MILES

"Compiled from Survey of India maps by courtesy
of the Surveyor General of India"

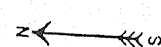


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- STATE BOUNDARY
- DISTRICT BOUNDARY
- TAHSIL BOUNDARY
- PARGANA BOUNDARY
- NATIONAL HIGHWAYS
- PROVINCIAL HIGHWAYS
- OTHER METALLED ROADS
- UNMETALLED ROADS
- RAILWAY-BROAD GAUGE
- TAHSIL & PARGANA HEAD QUARTERS
- CIRCUIT HOUSE INSPECTION HOUSES
- DAK BUNGLOW REST HOUSE
- RAILWAY STATIONS
- POLICE STATIONS
- DEVELOPMENT BLOCK HEADQUARTERS
- IMPORTANT MANDIS
- PLACE OF INDUSTRIAL IMPORTANCE
- OTHER TOWNS & PLACES OF INTEREST
- RIVERS
- BRIDGES
- FERRIES

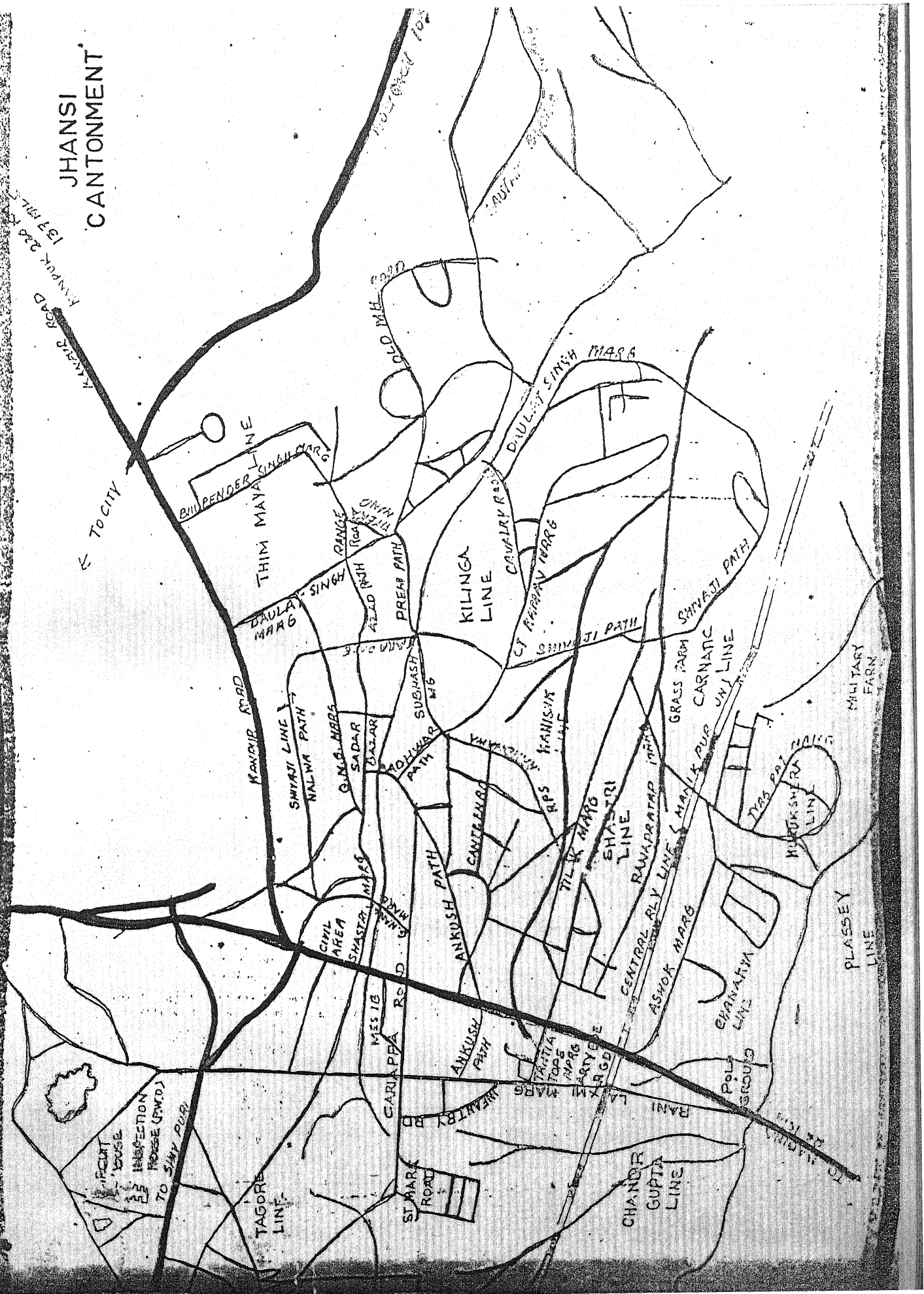
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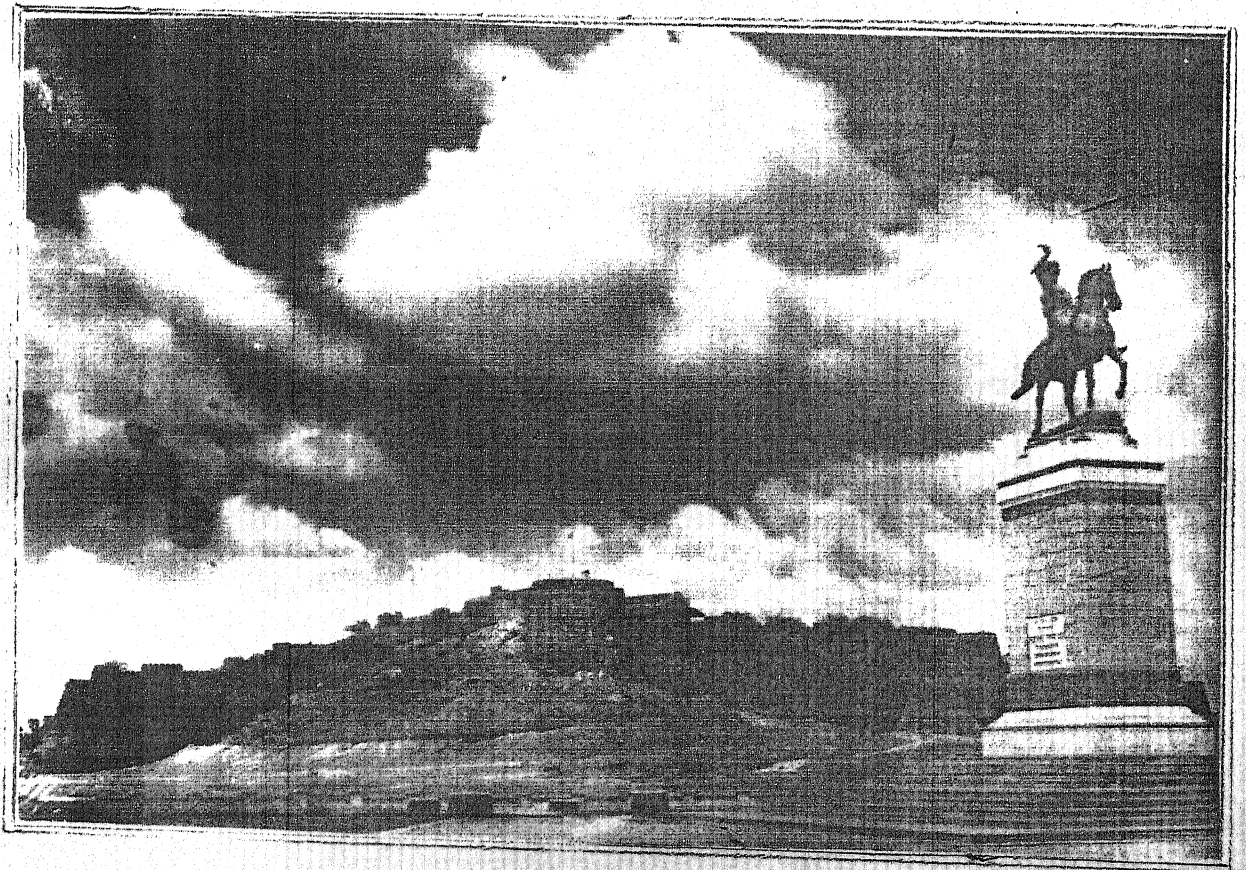
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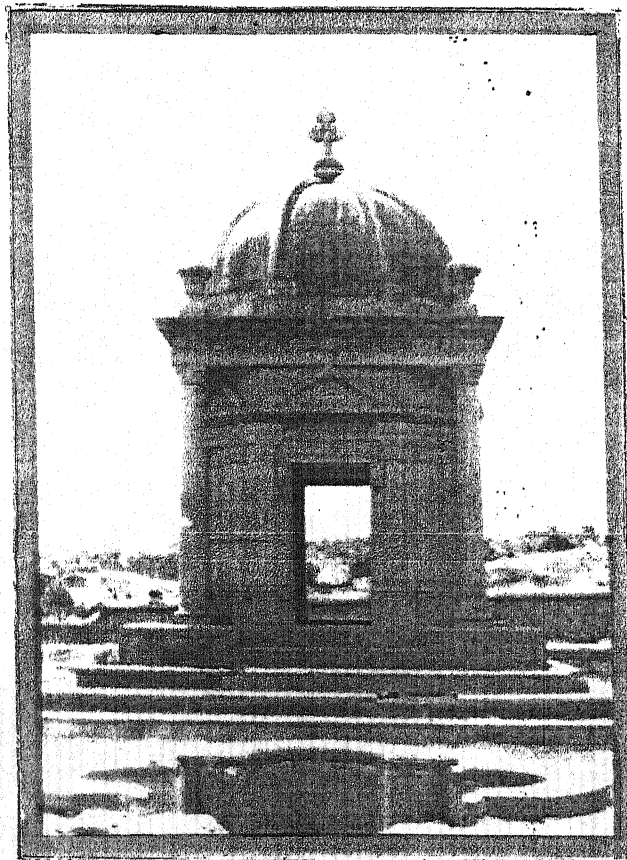
This is a detailed black and white map of the Chhatisgarh region in Madhya Pradesh, India. The map shows the confluence of the Narmada and Tapi rivers into the Arabian Sea. Key locations include Raipur, Bilaspur, Durg, and Jagdalpur. The map also depicts the Chhatisgarh District, the Narmada Canal, and the Narmada Dam. The map is oriented with North at the top.

JHANSI
CANTONMENT

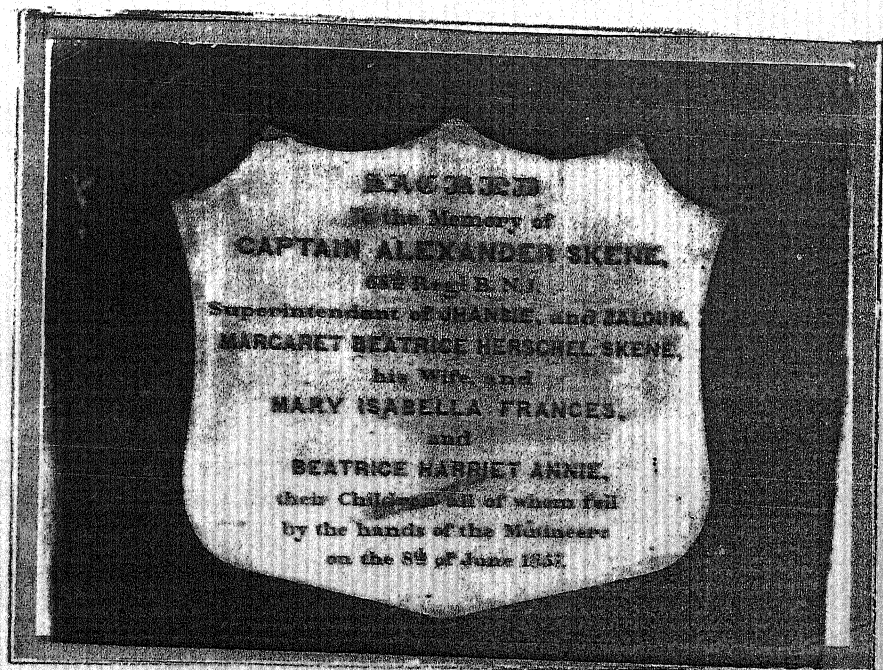


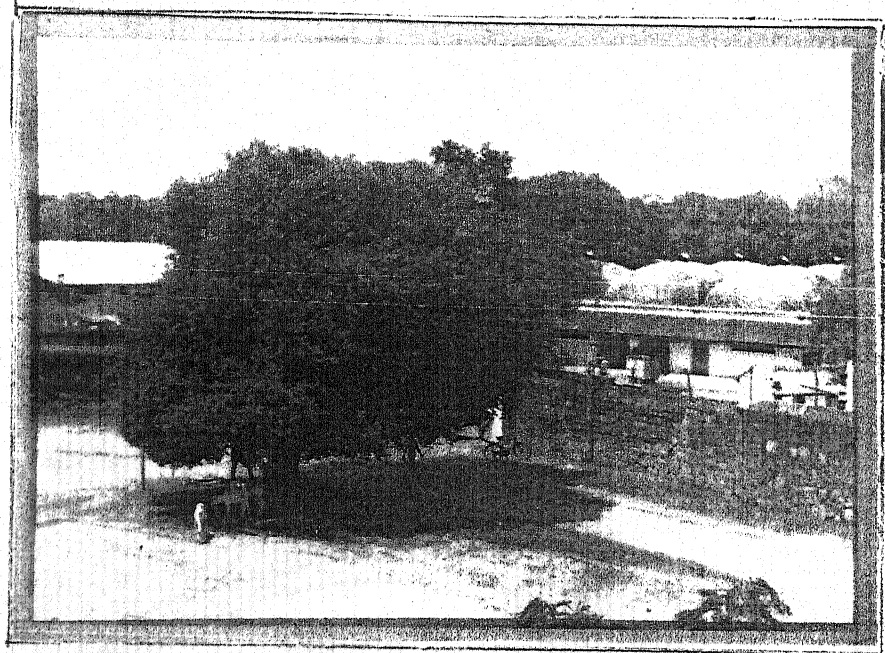


JHANSI FORT

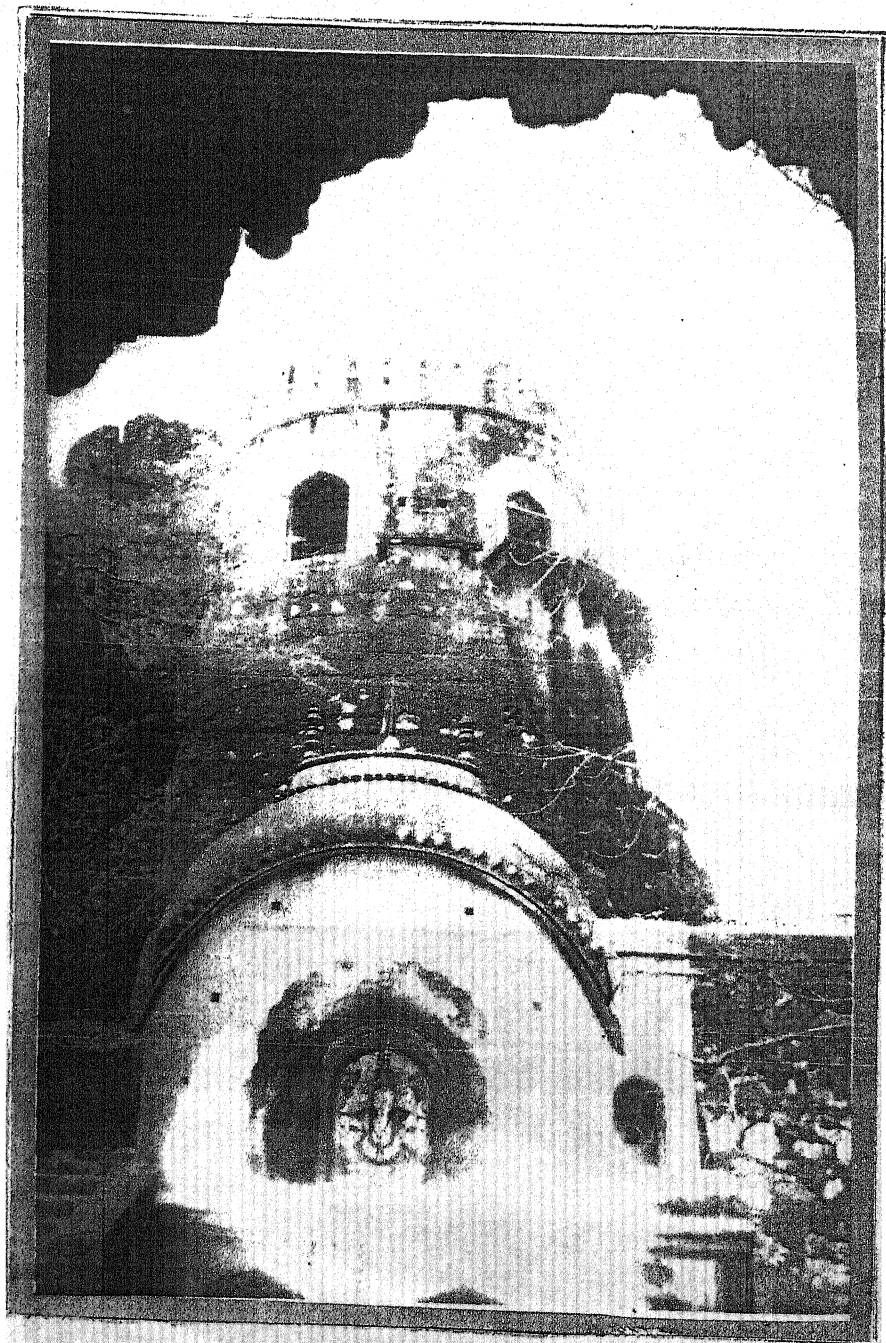


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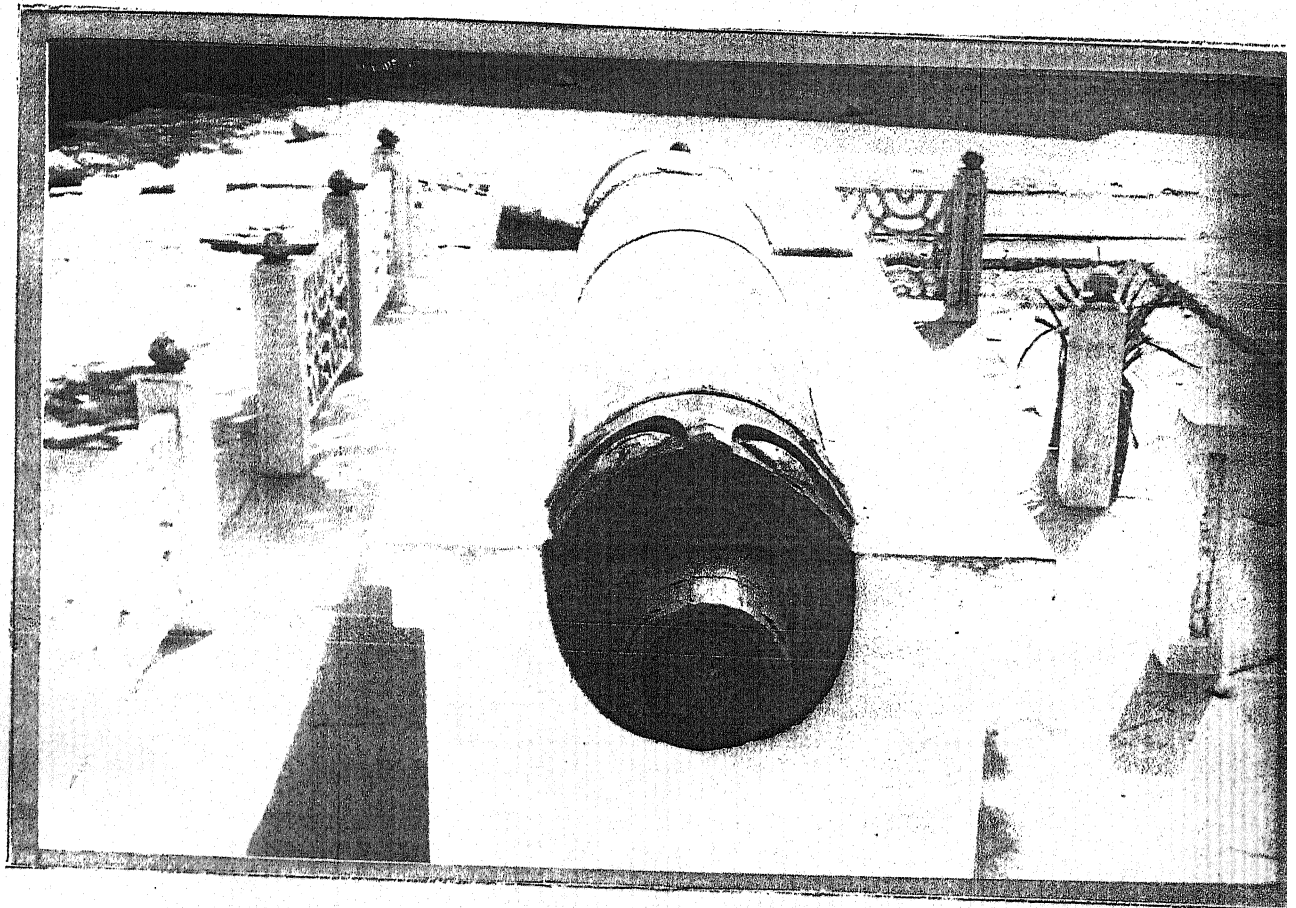




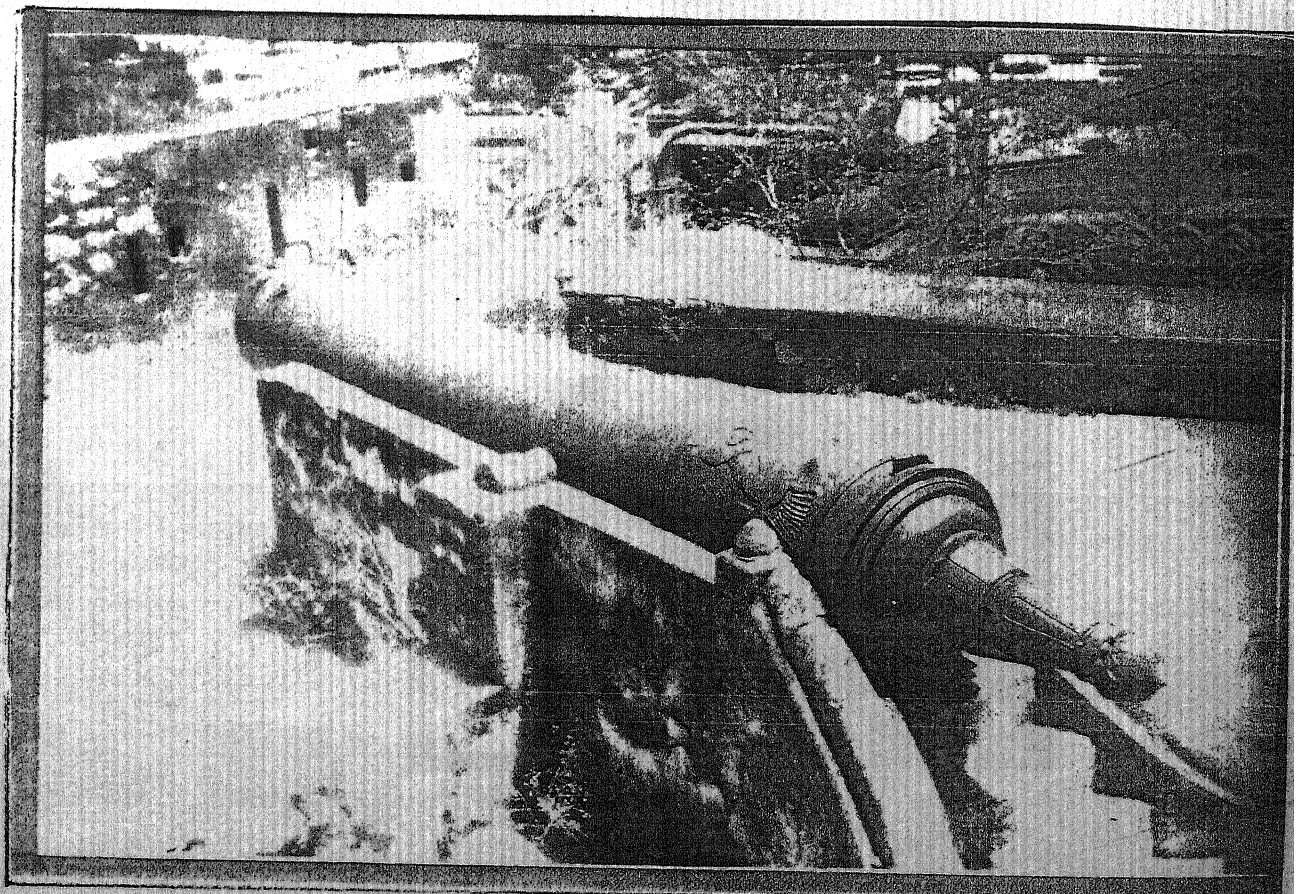
STAR FORT



BASTION WESTERN FACE



KARAK, BIJLI



SACRED

TO THE MEMORY OF
FREDERICK HENRY TURNBULL
LIEUTENANT BENGAL ARTILLERY,
Youngest Son of
MONTAGU HENRY TURNBULL
Late of the Bengal Civil Service.

Killed by the Mutineers
At JHANSI on the 6th June 1857
In the 26th Year of his Age

Be ye therefore ready also for
the Son of man cometh at an
hour when ye think not.

12th Chap. 13 Luke Verse 40

Wm. G. & Co.

SACRED

TO THE MEMORY OF
LIEUTENANT J. A. CAMPBELL
OF THE 11th REGT. BENGAL INF.
AND OFFICATING IN A POST AND CO.
THE 11th REGT. BENGAL INF.
WHO WAS KILLED
DURING THE MUTINY
AT JHANSI
IN JUNE 1857

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3. No. 22 of 1858, dated 14th March 58
4. No. 23 of 1858, dated 14th March 58
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6. No. 69 of 1858, dated - Camp Jhansi, 29th March 58
7. No. 83 of 1858, dated - Camp Jhansi, 7th April 58
8. No. 122 of 1858, dated Camp Jhansi, 23rd April 58
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11. No. 172 of 1858, dated Camp, Goolowli, 16th May 1858
12. No. 196 of 1858, dated Camp-Kalpi, the 28th May, 1858
13. No. 205 of 1858, dated Camp - Belawa, 31th May 1858
14. No. 217 of 1858, dated Camp near Moth, 5th June 58
15. No. 222 of 1858, dated Camp near Moth, 6th June 58
16. No. 252 of 1858, dated Camp near Moth, 14th June 58
17. No. 294 of 1858, dated - Jhansi - 23th June 1858
18. No. 302 of 1858, dated - Jhansi - 27th June 1858
19. No. 353 of 1858, dated Camp - Baragaon, 2nd July 1858
20. No. 380 of 1858, dated Camp-Moth, 7th July 1858
21. No. 52 of 1858, dated Jhansi, 19th July 1858
22. No. 115 of 1858, Jhansi, 26th July 1858
23. No. 141 of 1858, dated - Jhansi, 10th Aug 1858
24. No. 162 of 1858, dated - Jhansi, 10th Aug 1858
25. No. 194 of 1858, dated - Jhansi, 20th Aug 1858
26. No. 250 of 1858, dated - Jhansi, 1st Sept 1858
27. No. 282 of 1858, dated - Camp Gursarai, 11th Sept. 1858
28. No. 282 of 1858, dated - Camp Tori Fatehpur, 24th Sept. 1858
29. No. 344 of 1858, dated - Camp Raath, 30th Sept 1858
30. No. 405 of 1858, dated - Camp Pirtheepur, 13th Oct. 1858
31. No. 432 of 1858, dated - Allahabad
32. No. 449 of 1858, dated - Allahabad
33. No. 454 of 1858, dated Camp Bowli, 1st Nov. 1858
34. No. 527 of 1858, dated - Jhansi, 13th 1858

35. No. 537 of 1858, dated- Jhansi, 20th Nov. 1858
36. No. 595 of 1858, dated - Allahabad
37. No. 644 of 1858, dated Camp, Sirrusghat, 10th Dec. 1858
38. No. 697 of 1858, dated - Camp, Bhantee, 20th Dec. 58

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- iii. Hamirpur
- iv. Jalaun

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